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The Forum

APRIL, 1901.

THE PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSION.

In view of the lack of definite information on the subject of the proposed Isthmian canal, the conflicting claims of rival routes, the vast expenditure proposed, and the importance of the subject to the people of the United States both in their internal and external relations, the appointment of the present Isthmian Canal Commission on June 10, 1899, met with general approbation. While there were then a few who felt that their knowledge of the subject was sufficient to entitle them to deal with the complicated questions presented without the necessity of further enlightenment, the public at large, including the great body of our public men, were unwilling that the United States should engage in the actual construction of an Isthmian canal until the subject had been further studied by a representative body of capable and independent experts.

The appointment of a special commission for this purpose was authorized by four sections of the River and Harbor Bill, passed at the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress. In these sections the President was authorized to make investigation of any and all practicable routes for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and particularly to investigate the two routes known respectively as the "Nicaragua Route" and the "Panama Route," with a view of determining the most practicable and feasible route for such canal, together with the approximate and probable cost of constructing a canal at two or more of said routes. He was further authorized to investigate and ascertain what rights, privileges and

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franchises, if any, were held and owned by any corporations, associations or individuals, and what work, if any, had been done by such corporations, associations or individuals in the construction of a canal at either or any of said routes; likewise to ascertain the cost of purchasing rights, privileges or franchises held or owned by any such parties; also the probable cost of constructing a suitable harbor at each of the termini of said canal, with the probable annual cost of maintenance of said harbors, respectively; and generally to make such full and complete investigation as to determine the most feasible and practicable route across said isthmus for a canal, together with the cost of constructing same and placing the same under the control, management, and ownership of the United States. The President was authorized for this purpose to employ any of the engineers of the United States Army, also any engineers in civil life and any other persons necessary to make such investigation, and to expend for such purposes $1,000,000, or so much thereof as should be necessary.

The President decided that the Commission should consist of nine members, six of whom should be civil engineers of high professional standing. These places were filled by the selection of Messrs. George S. Morison, Oswald H. Ernst, Lewis M. Haupt, Alfred Noble, Peter C. Hains and William H. Burr, of whom Col. Hains and Lieut.-Col. Ernst were members of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army. The Navy was represented by Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, who was chosen by his associates to be President of the Commission. The other members were Hon. Samuel Pasco, ex-Senator from Florida, and Prof. Emory R. Johnson.

The composition of the Commission when announced was very favorably regarded; and although some uneasiness has been manifested in certain quarters at subsequent delay, nevertheless the knowledge that an unbiassed and thorough report would be eventually made has prevented hasty action. On November 30, 1900, the Commission filed what it calls a "Preliminary Report," which discusses the entire subject in all its more important aspects. It states definitively the conclusions reached, although the work of collecting additional data in the field is still in progress; and the final report hereafter to be presented will contain a vast amount of additional detailed information, including surveys, maps, projects and estimates.

In prosecuting their inquiries the Commission as a body spent considerable time in personal study of the alternative routes proposed, and visited Europe, where they investigated the records and plans of the

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Panama Canal Company and inspected existing ship canals at Kiel, Amsterdam and Manchester. They also organized and sent into the field thirty-one working parties; making a force of more than 200 men sent from the United States, to whom were added about 600 native laborers.

The report of the Commission on all engineering questions shows thorough study, is quite complete in its summing up of the various matters investigated, and is authoritative and convincing in the conclusions stated. In form it chiefly consists of a careful description of the Nicaragua and Panama routes, respectively, as well as of the rights, privileges and franchises outstanding respecting each. Attention was given to the study of other possible routes, which resulted in the finding of none deemed worthy of special consideration.

It seems probable that some, at least, of the members of the Commission were at first inclined to prefer the Panama Route to the Nicaragua Route, and the summing up of the comparative physical advantages of each tends to the advantage of the former. To begin with, a canal at Panama would be very much the shorter, only 44.79 miles in length as against a total length of 186.53 miles by the Nicaragua Route. In the former route there would be 7 miles of deep water at Lake Bohio, and in the latter route 17.26 miles of San Juan River and 48.74 miles of Lake Nicaragua not requiring improvement, making 66 miles in all; thus leaving in one case 37.79 miles and in the other case 120.53 miles on which construction work is required and maintenance expenses will always be demanded.

The elevation also is greater on the Nicaragua Route, the estimates calling for five locks on the Atlantic side and four locks on the Pacific side, between Lake Nicaragua and the oceans; the lake itself to be held at a summit level, from 104 to 110 feet above mean sea-level, by an enormous structure to be known as the Boca San Carlos dam. The Panama Route will require but two locks on the Atlantic side and three locks on the Pacific side to reach the maximum elevation of from 82 to 90 feet at Lake Bohio. This lake also must be protected by a heavy dam, and the Culebra cut, so-called, west of Lake Bohio, will be 7.95 miles long and 274 feet deep at the highest point. It is estimated that eight years would be required to complete the excavation of this cut, which is the measure of the time required to finish the canal by the Panama Route. By the other route ten years in the aggregate are called for: two years for preparatory work and the opening of Greytown Harbor, and eight years thereafter for the construction of the great dam, which

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will be about 150 feet high at the deepest part where a rock foundation can only be reached 100 feet below low water in San Juan River.

The cost of a completed canal upon each route has been carefully estimated, the same basis of computation of each unit being used in both cases. The result arrived at is $200,540,000 for the Nicaragua Route and $142,342,579 for the Panama Route. In the latter case, however, much work not included in the above estimate has already been done, the value of which on the same unit basis is given as $33,934,463. The amount which has been expended by the Panama Canal Company is much larger than the total requirements of that route would have been on the plan laid out by our Commission; the funds raised for this purpose by sale of stocks and bonds being stated as $246,706,431.68, for which securities were issued of the par value of $455,559,332.60. A large part of these moneys seems to have been wasted in various ways; the present Board of Directors of that company stated in 1898 that its assets then exceeded $100,000,000 in value. From the figures above given it is evident that about $58,000,000 could now be paid for the existing assets of the Panama Canal Company, and the work completed on the Commission's plan at the same cost as that required for a canal on the Nicaragua Route.

In all these estimates a prism is provided sufficient to enable two ships of the largest class to meet at any point; and the lock system is double throughout, "so that navigation can be maintained if one system be closed for repairs or renewals." The standard dimensions adopted provide for a depth of 35 feet and a bottom width of 150 feet. The adoption of a single-lock system for the Nicaragua Route would reduce the cost $19,678,000, and a reduction of one-third of the bottom width of the excavated channels would effect a further reduction of $16,949,000, being $36,637,000 in all. Corresponding changes on the Panama Route would reduce its cost $26,901,364. These figures are certainly worthy of serious consideration in deciding upon the construction plan.

After completion, the Panama Canal would have much less curvature than the Nicaragua Canal. The time consumed in the passage of vessels would be materially less, being estimated by the Commission at twelve hours for the Panama Route and thirty-three hours for the Nicaragua Route. The basis on which this estimate is made is not stated; and, without explanation, doubt may be felt as to whether a ship requiring twelve hours to pass through a canal 44.79 miles in length with five locks could get through a canal 186.53 miles long, having nine locks and more curvature, in thirty-three hours. Even taking into consider-

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ation the longer distance of lake to be traversed, the fact remains that the excavated portion of the latter route is to be more than three times as long as the corresponding portion of the other; and the passage of a steamship between the banks of a canal must necessarily be careful and slow. In practice it will be probably found that both these figures are understated. The extra time required for the traversing of the Nicaragua Canal would make up for the longer time consumed by vessels in reaching the more southern route.

The tables given by the Commission show that the distance from San Francisco to New York would be 377 miles greater, and from San Francisco to Liverpool 380 miles greater, by the Panama than by the Nicaragua Route, or say about twenty-five hours longer for a ship sailing fifteen miles per hour in the open sea; but the former route would have 131.74 less miles of canal to pass through. It is also stated that the New Orleans distance would be 579 miles greater. But, on the other hand, all distances to points on the west coast of South America would be materially shorter by the Panama Route.

The general result of all the arguments thus far stated seems somewhat decidedly to favor the selection of the Panama Route. There are other considerations, however, which make its adoption at the present time impracticable, and which bring the Commission unanimously to a recommendation in favor of the longer and more expensive canal — a result which seems particularly unfortunate in view of the higher maintenance charges with which our successors will inevitably be burdened if the Nicaragua Canal is built. Those considerations are twofold. First, there is the unfavorable character of the concession to which the Panama Route is subject, as well as its short duration. It will expire August 16, 1966, after which time all constructed works are to become the property of the Colombian Government. The Canal Company is also forbidden to cede or mortgage its rights to any government whatsoever, and is subject to charges and imposts amounting to about $500,000 per annum, together with other obligations to Colombia.

In the second place, there is an apparent impossibility of dealing with the present Canal Company on any reasonable terms. Possibly its stock might be acquired; but a sale of a majority interest only has been suggested, to be attended with provisions for the protection of the minority in the financial management. Moreover, a condition of its charter is that all the plant and material used in the construction of the canal must be of French origin. Some of these conditions might be overcome by sale to a new company to be incorporated in the United States. It

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seems, however, that the title of the French Company is complicated by rights reserved in favor of a liquidator of a former corporation which became insolvent, and which is entitled, among other things, to sixty per cent of the net income. On the whole, therefore, the complicated legal situation of the Panama Route has so greatly discouraged our Commissioners that they have settled upon the Nicaragua Route as alone practicable for this country to consider, under existing conditions, although there may be read between the lines of the report the suggestion of a possibility that the Colombian Government and the French company may hereafter modify the present situation.

It should be noted that there are no treaties now in existence with either Nicaragua or Costa Rica; also that all previous concessions relating to the Nicaragua route have lapsed, and that every thing done thereunder has been forfeited. Both these governments at the present moment are untrammelled by outstanding concessions and are free to grant to the United States such privileges as may be mutually agreed upon. The possible claims of former concessionaires are entirely ignored by the Commission; there is no danger, however, that Congress will be allowed to forget them. Says the Commission:

"In view of all the facts, and particularly in view of the difficulties of obtaining the necessary rights, privileges and franchises on the Panama route, and assuming that Nicaragua and Costa Rica recognize the value of the canal to themselves and are prepared to grant concessions on terms which are reasonable and acceptable to the United States, the Commission is of the opinion that 'the most practicable and feasible route for an Isthmian canal, to be under the control, management and ownership of the United States,' is that known as the Nicaragua Route."

Up to this point the report of the Commission rests upon solid ground. The able engineers who compose two-thirds of its membership have given definite figures and hard facts. The legal situation has been thoroughly ventilated. The things which Congress and the country desired to know are stated with precision and in a manner that forbids doubt respecting the soundness of the results arrived at.

When the Commission was organized it appointed five sub-committees, which were severally authorized to enter upon the investigation of the following subjects:

1. The Nicaragua Route.
2. The Panama Route.
3. Other possible routes.
4. The industrial, commercial and military value of an inter-oceanic canal.
5. Rights, privileges and franchises.

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The fourth subject designated was outside of the law under which the Commission was created. Apparently this sub-committee was organized for the purpose of finding something for Prof. Johnson to do which might be related to his own sphere of work, as he was made its chairman. He has explained his academic position as follows: "I became a member of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, and since 1895 have held the position of Assistant Professor of Transportation and Commerce in that institution." He signs himself as "Chairman Committee on Value of Canal."

Three pages of the Commission's Preliminary Report to the President, beginning near the bottom of page 34, are evidently attributable to the "Committee on Value." The statistics adduced and the deductions which are made therefrom are in strong contrast with the remaining portions of the report. Instead of being convincing they are very unconvincing. They seem to have been found unsatisfactory by gentlemen who have been especially prominent in pushing this Canal project; for Senator John T. Morgan, on January 14, 1901, on behalf of the Committee on Inter-Oceanic Canals, submitted to the Senate a so-called "Additional Report," which does not purport to be the work of the Commission as a body, but consists only of replies prepared by Prof. Johnson to certain questions which had been propounded "concerning the traffic of an Isthmian Canal and of the Suez Canal, and of the industrial effects which will result from the opening of an American inter-oceanic canal."

In submitting this document Senator Morgan took occasion to say:

"The thorough researches of this acknowledged authority on commercial subjects are presented succinctly in this paper, with conclusions that are demonstrated with great force and precision. The statement of the traffic resources of the canal and its effect upon the commerce and industries of the United States removes many doubts that have embarrassed the estimates of anxious but less informed inquirers, and presents in a fair, authentic and reliable form the accurate basis of correct calculation, and proves conclusively that as an investment the Nicaragua Canal will earn a highly remunerative profit on a cost of even $200,500,000."

The Senator is quite right as to the doubts that have embarrassed previous estimates in respect to the traffic resources of the canal, but is altogether too credulous in his statement respecting the demonstration accomplished by Prof. Johnson. While, as above shown, this subject is no part of the business of the Commission, nevertheless it is an extremely important subject to the people of the United States. Having ascertained that under present conditions the Nicaragua Route is the best, and that a canal on that route can be constructed for $200,500,000, the country now faces the question whether such construction is worth

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while as a commercial proposition. In order to substantiate the affirmative of this question much more is needed than is found in the statistics assembled by Prof. Johnson. It may be said without danger of challenge that the prevalent opinion among traffic experts has been, and is, that if the canal is finally built great disappointment will be felt respecting the volume of commerce that will use it. And while Prof. Johnson employs large figures in stating his opinions on this question, he arranges them in a way that excites query rather than confidence. The special report of Prof. Johnson is the first authoritative statement of what is claimed in behalf of the proposed waterway. It, therefore, deserves careful analysis and discussion.

The history of the Suez Canal is drawn upon for analogies. Statistics are given showing the number of vessels, the tonnage and the transit receipts of that canal for each of the twenty-nine years of its existence. The figures of the last twenty-five years are grouped by Prof. Johnson in "quinquennial periods," and the conclusion is drawn that "during twenty years the traffic increased fourfold"; the years referred to being 1874 to 1898 inclusive. But the same tables show also that during the last fourteen years the traffic has increased only fifty per cent; *i.e.*, in 1885 the net tonnage was 6,335,753, and the transit receipts were 62,207,439 francs, while in 1889 the net tonnage had increased to 9,895,630 tons and the transit receipts to 91,318,772 francs — a rate of increase by no means startling, being in fact surprisingly low, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year.

These figures include war ships, transports and government chartered vessels. The tolls are 10 francs ($2) per passenger and 9 francs per ton on the net register of the vessels, said to be "equivalent to nearly $2 per net register ton as measured by British or American rules." The Suez Canal is ninety-two miles in length, without locks, costing about $102,000,000, and is in the direct route of the principal commerce of the world; namely, that between all European countries and the Orient, including India, Australia, China and Japan. It is subject to no possible railway competition, the only alternative route being around the Cape of Good Hope; and the tolls have been fixed at a point where it is cheaper to use the canal than to take the longer route through the Atlantic Ocean.

Under these favorable circumstances it seems that the total net tonnage for 1899 was 9,895,630 tons, producing a gross revenue of $17,624,553. Prof. Johnson claims that about 7,500,000 tons of traffic "will be available" for the Isthmian Canal in 1914, and regards an esti-

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mate of its traffic in 1924 of 11,250,000 tons as "conservative." These figures, at first blush, are certainly out of due proportion. A statement that the Isthmian Canal will carry one-fourth as much tonnage as the Suez Canal would have been accepted as fully ample by many conversant with the respective commercial opportunities of the two canals.

It seems, however, that the estimates presented by Prof. Johnson are what he regards as possible traffic without regard to toll. He does not say this frankly, and his omission to do so has apparently led Senator Morgan to make the curious statement above quoted, that the new canal "will earn a highly remunerative profit on a cost of even $200,500,000." A "highly remunerative profit" should be at least four per cent on the investment. This would require $8,020,000 net earnings after paying all expenses of maintenance and operation. The Commission have not estimated these future expenses; former estimates have allowed $40,000 per year for working each lock, and it is readily apparent that in a country with the terrific rainfall of Nicaragua the keeping in order 120 miles of new earthworks, channels and harbors would require the constant use of the shovel and the dredge. These expenses would be continuous, whether the canal produced revenue or whether it did not. If we accept one per cent on the cost, or $2,000,000 per annum, as a reasonable expenditure for these purposes (and four times that amount may be required), it is evident that an annual gross revenue of at least $10,000,000 would be needed to pay four per cent interest on the cost of the structure.

What Prof. Johnson actually says on the subject of tolls is this:

Question 5. "What rate of toll per ton do you adopt in estimating the gross income of the Canal, and why do you adopt that rate?"

Answer. "In investigating the tonnage of the vessels that the existing commerce of the world would cause to pass through a canal, it was not deemed necessary to adopt a rate of toll. A careful study has, however, been made of the effect that tolls would have upon the volume of business, and the general conclusion reached is that any toll greater than $1 per vessel ton net register would cause the greater part of the tonnage of the west coast of South America to pass through the Straits of Magellan instead of through an Isthmian Canal. This west coast of South America trade comprises under present conditions nearly one-third of the traffic available for the Isthmian waterway. A toll that would divert this commerce from the canal would doubtless yield a lower gross revenue than would a toll of $1 per ton, besides greatly restricting the industrial and commercial advantages of an inter-oceanic waterway."

This answer is ingenious, but somewhat delphic. It begins by saying that, in his answers to the preceding questions, which will be considered below, his estimates refer to commerce that might use this route to advantage without reference to tolls. He has carefully studied the ques-

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tion of tolls, however, and concludes that a toll exceeding $1 would drive away nearly all business to and from the west coast of South America; whereupon he thinks that the greatest gross revenue would be derived by making the rate $1, and that a higher rate would greatly restrict "the industrial and commercial advantages of an inter-oceanic waterway."

But at $1 per ton it would require 10,000,000 tons to furnish the gross earnings necessary to produce the results stated by Senator Morgan. This is twenty-five per cent more tonnage than Prof. Johnson estimates would accrue to the canal in 1914, without reference to tolls. Notwithstanding the fact that an Isthmian canal would cost about twice the cost of the Suez Canal, would be nearly twice as long, and doubtless more than twice as expensive to maintain and operate, it is proposed to work it on the basis of one-half the Suez rate of toll. It will be noted that at the rate proposed the total transit receipts on the traffic of the Suez Canal for 1899 would have been less than $9,000,000.

Moreover, there are other things to be considered. It is said that commerce to and from the west coast of South America constitutes nearly one-third of the traffic available, and that any toll greater than $1 per ton would divert it to the Straits of Magellan. Of course it would; and probably a toll of $1 per ton would do the same, at least so far as traffic between European points and Chile is concerned. A ship of 3,000 tons would have to pay $3,000 toll, which could be saved by the passage through the Straits. It is intimated that traffic other than this South American business could stand a higher toll than $1; but that direct statement is not made. The Suez rate of $2 takes $6,000 per trip out of the earnings of a 3,000-ton vessel. A basis accepted by Government officials in former estimates of this character was as follows:

> "The average rate for carrying freight over ocean routes of 3,000 miles or more is usually assumed by statisticians to be a mill per mile-ton. Of this, about one-half is for shore expenses, . . . leaving one-half mill per mile-ton for moving freight through the water."

On this basis $1 would move a ton of ocean freight 2,000 miles; and $6,000 would move 3,000 tons of ocean freight 4,000 miles.

The manner in which the subject of sailing vessels is dealt with also calls for comment. In previous discussions respecting the canal, it has usually been assumed that it would not be used by vessels under sail. Its termini are not easy or safe for such vessels to approach, and they would have to be towed through the canal. As a practical matter, the proposed construction is for steamers only and has always been so understood. This report states that while three-fifths of the sea-going tonnage

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of the United States now consists of sailing vessels, sails are being displaced by steam; and, if this movement continues, after 1914 an Isthmian canal will not be much used by sailing ships.

"Moreover, the canal will so increase the competitive advantages of the steamer as to render practically certain its general substitution in place of the sailing vessel for all lines of trade through an Isthmian waterway."

These statements seem inadequate, although they very pointedly call attention to the fact that the construction of the canal would be a severe blow to the industries employed in building and operating sailing vessels in the United States.

We are now prepared to examine the estimates of traffic that have been made by the "Chairman of the Committee on Value." In his reply to Senator Morgan he quotes what had previously been said in the preliminary report of the Commission, and then proceeds to emphasize some of the conclusions there stated.

It seems that the subject has been approached in two ways, the results of both being somewhat similar. An investigation was first made of the "exports and imports of the United States and the leading commercial nations of Europe." It was necessary to convert values and quantities into their tonnage equivalents; and, this having been done, it is stated that 3,426,752 cargo tons of the maritime commerce of the United States during the year ending June 30, 1899, "could have used the canal to advantage." No light is vouchsafed as to what "exports and imports" have been regarded as comprising this section of the "maritime commerce of the United States." We, therefore, do not know whether the aggregate figures include, among other things, transcontinental traffic between our Pacific and Atlantic seaboards, or traffic between the Orient and points in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains.

If such items as those are included, it is sufficient to say that very little transcontinental traffic that now goes by rail will ever leave the railroads for the water route. The roads may have to reduce their rates but they may be relied upon to keep the business. Moreover, commerce between our Atlantic seaports and the Philippine Islands will be always as likely to go via Suez as via Nicaragua, on even terms as to tolls, the distance being practically the same and coaling and other facilities via Suez being superior. Our Atlantic seaboard traffic to and from Australia, India and points west of Manila and Hong Kong will probably continue to use the Suez route, unless the longer distance is overcome by the application of tolls materially less than those charged via Suez. The

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only Oriental commerce of the United States that could use the canal to advantage on even terms is that of Atlantic coast points with China and Japan; and even as to this the advantage as to distance over the Suez route would be slight, while the transcontinental railroads have heretofore handled such business quite successfully. Our imports from those countries are chiefly tea, silks and mattings, most of which profitably enter the Pacific ports and cross the continent by rail. Steamers engaged in that trade get back-loads, such as flour from the Pacific States and packing-house products, beer, wire, etc., from this country's great central basin. There is a little export of raw cotton to Japan, none of which, however, grows at any seaport, and which, when loaded in the cars at interior points for its initial transportation, will always be as likely to go via the Pacific ports as via those nearer by. The same is true of cotton piece goods, which our Southern States hope in future to export heavily to China. Japan has plenty of cotton mills of her own, procuring the greater part of her raw material from India.

In estimating possible traffic, we cannot overlook the fact that most of the "exports and imports of the United States" originate at, or are destined to, interior points in our country. This is true, for example, of California products. Very few of these take to the ocean for carriage except grain and lumber, which will not bear transcontinental transportation by rail. It is equally true of all interior points east of the Rocky Mountains. Manufacturing points in the Mississippi Valley and in all our Central States will possibly be subject to severer competition in the Orient by manufacturers situated on the Atlantic seaboard, if the proposed waterway becomes available. Their own products will not use the canal; and all their importations of tea and other Oriental goods will continue to come via the Pacific ports. The adding together of all "imports and exports," in order to learn what might use the canal to advantage has little relation to the question of the canal's commercial value. It is a species of self-deception that suggests the attitude of an advocate rather than that of a judge.

Moreover, the question is not what traffic might have used the canal if operated without tolls, but what would have used the canal had it existed with the proposed toll of $1 per ton, which, at two and one-half mills per ton per mile for actual cost of movement, would move freight by rail 400 miles. Knowledge of details being absent it is impossible to make the proper deductions; but the estimate of 3,426,752 cargo tons of United States freight is simply incredible. It took the Suez Canal twelve years to get up to that amount of total business from all sources.

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To the figures above stated, Prof. Johnson proceeds to add the trade of Europe with the west coast of South and Central America and with British Columbia, amounting to 3,346,377 cargo tons additional; thus making 6,773,129 tons in 1899, which he regards as "available for the canal." But of this 3,346,377 tons, 2,425,932 tons were to and from Chile; leaving only 920,445 tons for the total European trade with Central America, British Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, etc. Most of this is now handled by sailing vessels, which will continue to use the Straits until driven off the ocean. When the required details are obtained, it will not be surprising to find it necessary to reduce the estimated 6,773,129 tons, "available," if free from toll, to an estimate of possibly 2,000,000 tons as an outside figure which would actually use the canal at one-half the Suez rate of tolls.

Prof. Johnson, however, is not satisfied with his own estimate of available tonnage, but calls attention to the fact that it does not include "any of the trade between Europe and the Orient, a part of which would have used the American canal had it been in existence." This peculiar remark is further elucidated in the following paragraph, where he says:

> "The opening of the American Isthmian canal will accentuate the present tendency of traffic to follow round-the-world lines, and not less than one-fourth of the present traffic of Europe with Eastern countries may be expected to use this route."

What he means by this is quite mysterious. The distance via Suez would be something like 2,500 to 3,000 miles shorter than via Nicaragua; yet it is gravely asserted that one-fourth of the total Suez commerce would take the longer route by reason of the "tendency of traffic to follow round-the-world lines." It seems to be thought difficult for steamers to turn round after having gone several thousand miles in one direction. If this "tendency" exists it will certainly apply to the Nicaragua traffic as well as to the Suez traffic; both being equal in volume, according to Prof. Johnson's estimates, the results would offset each other.

Having thus estimated the possible cargo tonnage of the canal, Prof. Johnson next takes up the net register tonnage, at which he arrives by saying:

> "The statistics of entrances and clearances show that the net register tonnage of the American and foreign shipping that would have passed through a canal, had it existed during the year 1898-99, was 4,582,128 tons, in addition to a part of the commerce between Europe and the Orient";

he adds one-fourth of the vessel tonnage employed in the European Oriental commerce during the calendar year 1898, being 1,154,328 tons, giving a total of 5,736,456, as "the number of tons of shipping that would

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have used a canal had it been in existence in 1898–99." This amount being increased 22.55 per cent per decade for expected growth in trade "would make the figures for 1909, 7,030,027 tons, and for 1914, 7,782,-240 tons net register."

Details of the "entrances and clearances" which make up this result are not yet obtainable. It will be noted that in this computation the language used by Prof. Johnson is stronger than in the other. His cargo tons were those that "could have used the canal to advantage," while his net register tons were those "that would have passed through a canal had it existed." However, both cases refer to a canal without reference to tolls, and both are regarded as representing two independent modes of arriving at the amount of traffic "available for the canal." Prof. Johnson is careful not to make any statement in respect to the estimated traffic of the canal at $1 per ton toll, or at any other rate of toll; so that Senator Morgan's statement respecting a "highly remunerative profit" is not related to the figures furnished. It is quite within the region of the possible that his net register tonnage includes United States Navy ships and United States Army transports "that would have passed through a canal had it existed," but which, of course, would pay no toll on a canal built by the United States Government. The Suez Canal carried in its thirteenth year 5,074,809 net register tons in 3,198 vessels. That canal has been described as connecting 250,000,000 civilized inhabitants of Western Europe with thrice that number of people east of Aden; while the Isthmian canal can be expected to take such commerce only as has one or both of its termini in ports on the American continent.

The estimates made by Prof. Johnson are valueless without the details composing them. Until these are furnished and examined it must remain doubtful whether a thorough sifting of probabilities — such, for example, as would be applied to the traffic resources of a new railroad project — would show a likelihood of transit receipts from the canal sufficient to pay its necessary operating and maintenance charges. The most sanguine promoter of a new railroad scheme in competitive territory would hardly venture to add together all possible traffic by existing land and water routes, and submit the total as his expectation of business.

The fact is that Prof. Johnson has investigated the wrong questions. Information is not required respecting the freight that might have used the canal or the shipping that could have used it, had it existed in 1899 and been free to all. What is required is information as to the tonnage that would have used it under existing competitive conditions, and subject to the imposition of a reasonable toll. The proper study of this

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question does not belong to professional statisticians but to traffic experts. It can be satisfactorily approached only by taking each commodity separately, studying its cost of production and its value at the proposed market, together with all transportation questions affecting its movement.

To an ordinary observer it would seem that traffic through the canal under a toll of $1 per ton would be substantially limited to the following routes of steamer commerce, viz.:

1. Between Atlantic and Gulf ports in the United States and Western South American and Central American ports. This traffic would be in competition with sailing vessels around the Horn.

2. Between Atlantic and Gulf ports in the United States and Japan, China, Philippine and Siberian ports. This traffic would be in competition with transcontinental rail lines through United States Pacific ports. Business to and from the United States, west of the Alleghany Mountains and north of the Gulf States, would not be included.

3. Between European ports and ports on the Pacific Ocean in Peru, Ecuador, Central America, the United States and British Columbia. This traffic would be in competition with sailing vessels by Cape Horn, and the latter part would also be in competition with Canadian and United States railways through Atlantic seaports.

4. A limited amount of coarse freight between United States Atlantic and Gulf ports and United States Pacific ports. So far as existing business is concerned this would include very little that now goes by rail. It is difficult to perceive any important new business likely to be developed upon this route. Possibly a little redwood lumber might be moved to the Atlantic seaboard States through an Isthmian canal.

In the foregoing paragraphs the word "competition" is used with reference to other transportation agencies. Competition of points of production and of markets is likewise important. Considering that aspect of the matter, Route 1 would be in competition with the products and markets of Europe, which now does most of the business. Route 2 would compete with the products of our interior States, but would not affect those States as markets for Oriental products via our Pacific gateways. Route 3 might enable Europe to do some business now handled in the United States, with which it could compete more advantageously than at present. The principal east-bound traffic would be grain, as to which the canal tolls would largely offset the saving over the present sailing-vessel route around Cape Horn. Route 4 would modify to some extent the present competitive positions of the Atlantic seaboard cities and com-

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munities west of the Alleghany Mountains, respectively. The probable results of this change should be carefully studied.

Conclusions based upon possibilities, and arrived at by aggregating all tonnage available, cannot fail to be misleading. The method which has been adopted, so far as this matter has gone, has been the reverse of scientific. If the Isthmian Canal Commissioners really feel that a report upon the commercial value of the proposed canal is within the scope of their duties, it is to be hoped that before submitting their final report the Commission as a body will cause a business-like investigation to be made by experts familiar with the movement and routes of traffic, to the end that the conclusions arrived at may be based upon actualities and subjected to such deductions as are required by existing commercial and competitive conditions.

ALDACE F. WALKER.

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THE ENGLISH POOR-LAW.

THE opening months of the reign of Queen Victoria witnessed the inauguration of the new system of Poor-Law administration. The last weeks of that memorable reign saw the complete abandonment of the principles laid down by the reformers of the thirties. The Poor-Law, as once understood in England, is dead; dead as Julius Cæsar. A Radical government might have been expected to perform the last rites over this venerable legacy of the Reformation; but the unexpected has happened, and new point has been given to the trite saying that "Liberal governments only mark time; they never put the left foot forward, leaving that necessary movement to their Tory successors."

During by far the greater portion of the late sovereign's occupation of the throne, the one idea of all Poor-Law guardians was the rigorous administration of the law; the great test of the necessary destitution being willingness to enter the walls of the institution known with grim humor as "the house." That the evil of poverty could be cured by making the "house" as uncomfortable as possible, by placing every obstacle in the way of out-door relief, by severe surveillance, and by the deprivation of the franchise were common beliefs, fostered, no doubt, by the study of that wonderful document which every social reformer ought to read — the Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners. They reported, and with only too much reason, that the workhouses of the kingdom were the resort of the idle and the profligate of both sexes, and that they were mere seminaries for the preparation of victims for the penal code.

With such a picture before his eyes, it is not to be wondered at that the average guardian — who, as often as not, was the product of the surplus elements of the political parties, not regarded good enough for a councillorship — made the workhouse as cheerless as the Local Government Board would allow him, where, with liberty restricted and meals just sufficient to keep body and soul together, the pauper had to content himself or clear out. The accommodation for the sick was notoriously inadequate; and though here and there, notably in the large cities, men like Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool, arose to point out the right

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path to pursue in the joint interests of patient and taxpayer, little or no change took place in the management of workhouses or workhouse infirmaries. For years Mr. Rathbone paid out of his own pocket the cost of trained nurses for the Liverpool Workhouse, in order to convince reluctant guardians, brought up on the old lines, of the advantages of such a system, almost universal at this moment, thanks to the noble founder mentioned.

The old principles are admirably summed up in the following extract from a paper written by Mr. George Rooke, for many years chairman of the Manchester Board of Guardians, and a man of wide experience:

"Some years ago I read a paper before the Manchester Statistical Society, in which I showed that the cost of administering the English Poor-Law was twenty per cent, or one-fifth, of the total expenditure. Where that proportion was reduced the pauperism became excessive, owing to weak administration. Pauperism begets pauperism, both in the present generation and the future; and it is better every way, and more economical, to expend the rates in preventing it, than, by false economy, to encourage deception, idleness, hopeless poverty, and dependence."

The first note of the impending changes was sounded in a short speech by Mr. H. Chaplin, president of the Local Government Board, delivered in the House of Commons during the past summer, in answer to a question from the Liberal benches. Among other things, he said:

"I have been most anxious to deal with this serious question this session, but I have been unable to do so. I have prepared a new series of regulations affecting the classification of inmates in workhouses, with a view of securing separate accommodation for the aged and deserving poor."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, finding it difficult enough to get money for the South African war, was the stumbling-block in Mr. Chaplin's way. Hence the reluctant conclusion, that "this is not a fitting moment to make further demands upon him."

This speech was sent out to every board in the country, with the intimation that, although an order would not be made as yet, the following were the regulations which the right honorable gentleman had in mind, to which the guardians were asked to give their earnest attention. Since then, inquiries have been sent out asking for definite replies as to how far the guardians were meeting the wishes thus expressed. For all persons over sixty-five years of age, of good character, special provision is to be made. They are to live apart, in the workhouses, from all other inmates, with special day rooms in which they can take their meals, with separate cubicles for sleeping purposes, and with lockers for their own private knick-knacks. They are to have the privilege of sleeping longer and of retiring earlier or later, at their discretion, together with the

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privilege of seeing friends from the outside more frequently than now. A select committee has gone so far as to recommend the provision of separate cottages for the reception of people of this class; and it is more than likely that this suggestion will be placed on the statute book this very year. All this means that the workhouse for old men or women is practically abolished, with all its inconveniences and the other deterrents beloved of a former generation — and by a Tory government, too!

After this, one need not be surprised to find that the circular letter of the Local Government Board has something to say on the very vexed question of outdoor relief. Though guardians had the power to give adequate relief, very few indeed availed themselves of this power, the amounts actually given being totally inadequate to keep the applicants. Many unions gave none at all, preferring to put each case to the test of entering the workhouse. It was here that the old-time guardian shone in all his glory; and if by chance he did give anything, the nimble half-crown per week was the outside limit. This part of the work is the most difficult for the conscientious administrator; for pitfalls meet him at every step. Mr. Chaplin, however, has laid it down as a cardinal principle of the new régime that "aged deserving persons should not be urged to enter the workhouse at all" — a declaration which is more than sufficient to make the past guardians of the poor turn in their graves. "Not at all" marks a complete change of front, which is more marked as we read that the Board is "afraid that too frequently such relief as is now given is not adequate in amount. It is desirous of pressing upon the guardians that such relief should, when granted, be always adequate."

To carry out a tithe of the indoor changes proposed in the way of classification would involve enormous expense; but, while recognizing this, the Board hopes that no hesitation will be felt in bringing about the suggested improvements. Imbeciles are to be removed from the workhouses, and thus one of the horrors of indoor life will be sent to the limbo of forgotten things; the sick poor in the infirmaries are to be provided with more air space, better-lighted wards, and improved ventilation. This latter idea has been long carried out by the more enlightened boards; but that it was necessary in the last months of the nineteenth century to enforce such a rule is ample evidence of the backwardness of only too many local authorities.

Last December the authorities at Whitehall issued an order which cannot be disregarded, commanding certain changes in the diets of ordinary workhouse inmates, to take effect on March 25 of this year. Meat dinners, usually three per week, are now increased to four, not counting

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the usual weekly bacon dinner; while soups are to contain at least fifty per cent more meat or other nourishing ingredients. An extra meal per day is to be allowed the "workers"; and, to make sure, a gigantic edition of a cookery book is issued, giving the most minute particulars as to the preparation of each dish, many hundreds in number, out of which a suitable dietary table is to be prepared, subject to the consent of the London authorities. This unexpected order fell like a bombshell from the Government kopjes; and each guardian asked the other whether it was not time to clear out of parochial life and leave every thing, from workhouse tea to the erection of tuberculosis hospitals, to the stepmothers at Whitehall. The order is there, however, one more nail — the longest and strongest, in my opinion — driven into the coffin of the erstwhile Poor-Law.

The care of children has been long the study of energetic philanthropists, who, recognizing the uselessness of changing the older folks, have hoped to educate the younger generation of paupers into ways of self-reliance. Cottage homes, scattered homes, and boarding out with families have all had their advocates; and, at last, after all systems have had a fair trial, a plain intimation is given that, for the future, no children must be kept within the workhouse walls — nay, they must not be educated in large schools. Eton and Harrow may do for the scions of the House of Lords; but for the children of the State separate cottages, with plenty of land adjoining, containing not more than twenty inmates, under the care of a foster-mother, must be provided. The cost of these isolated homes consequent upon the breaking up of the large Poor-Law schools is simply staggering. The Poor-Law is dead, long live the new régime! But what does it all mean? What is its effect going to be upon the people? And who or what has brought about this departure from well-established landmarks of the century? Thereby hangs a tale!

At the general election of 1895, Mr. Chamberlain secured thousands of votes for the Unionist party by his definite promise that old-age pensions would be given by the new Unionist government. That pledge has not been fulfilled, and is not likely to be, by the present Ministry. Whether this is due to the magnitude of the problem or to the dislike of the Tory party to embark further into domestic reform, I need not now inquire; but it is evident to all interested in this matter that the new Poor-Law regulations are a practical admission that election pledges are difficult of fulfilment. It is, therefore, to the local Poor-Law Guardians that aged deserving persons must look for any amelioration of their condition. The entire cost is to fall upon the local taxpayer; or, to put it

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more forcibly and more truthfully, the cost of ameliorating the lot of the aged poor is to fall on the very class from whose ranks future "deserving" persons are to be drawn.

This is the very essence of Toryism; hence, the new regulations cannot be regarded as a genuine attempt to reform the Poor-Law, but rather as one more effort to stave off the settlement of those social problems which the presence of so much poverty in the midst of plenty has created. Sir Hugh Owen, late permanent secretary to the Local Government Board, stated that in 1892 there were in England and Wales 1,372,000 persons over sixty-five years of age, and that of this number no less than 401,000 were receiving relief from the parochial authorities. Deducting the well-to-do, we have the appalling fact that two out of every five over the age mentioned are dependent upon public charity.

Another fruitful, nay, the most fruitful, source of poverty is disease. At the Poor-Law Conference in Manchester, in October, 1899, which I attended as one of the representatives of Liverpool, it was stated by one prominent medical man present that the root of the evil was the bad housing of the working classes, combined with the moral and alcoholic conditions inseparable from their present surroundings. As an illustration he quoted the positive declaration of a German savant that the rate of mortality from phthisis alone was 15 per 10,000 where the annual income was over £100 per annum, but 40 where the income was less. Reform, or rather, destroy, the Poor-Law, put a premium on poverty, but by no manner of means attempt to grapple with the evils which cause poverty, notably the evils just referred to.

There is not a member of the middle classes in England at this moment who can afford to give his children the splendid accommodation provided in our cottage homes for pauper children. They are a standing temptation to the neglectful parent to go on neglecting. A benevolent state will step in and relieve him of his parental duties at the cost of the local taxpayer, who does try to pay his way and fulfil his natural obligations. I do not object to this except in so far as it goes to show that the relaxing of the healthy restrictions of the old Poor-Law by a reactionary government is putting a premium on thriftlessness, if not idleness.

Owing to the operations of the Employers' Liability Acts, men on the shady side of forty cannot get work, especially if the hair shows signs of turning gray. It is a melancholy sight to see in our workhouses so many men willing and able to do some work, but prevented by conditions not of their making. To make the workhouse comfortable for such inmates seems at first sight humane; but if we consider the ques-

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tion more closely, we see the error in the principle of relief instead of wages, which was one of the blots on the administration previous to 1834, and which enabled the unscrupulous employer to get his labor cheap, and at the public expense. Make the workhouse attractive, and not only do you remove some of the incentives to industry, but you keep back the tide of reform, hiding the very evils which make it a necessity of our social system.

There must be some reason why men cannot get work, some cause for the large death rate in our great cities. Why not face the evils instead of attempting to bury them in new dietary tables or extra "privileges" for aged people? By the very machinery of local government the greater proportion of the cost must fall upon the laborer — in my opinion *all* falls on the worker, as he is the line of least resistance — and so we go on manufacturing paupers artificially, rather than facing the difficulty. Old-age pensions, or rather, the promise of them, had the effect, according to the managers of "friendly societies," of stopping the development of such beneficent institutions. How much more so will the indiscriminate distribution of public funds demoralize the workers of the country? The extra outdoor relief ordered for the aged is now being extended, by a natural development, to other applicants, to whom the government recommendation did not apply; and, what with the cost of the new dietaries, the unfortunate taxpayer is in for a rosy time, and all in the name of humanity, when, in fact, the refusal of a Tory minister to keep his pledges is the bottom cause. I may mention that in Liverpool alone the cost of giving one extra meat dinner to the inmates will cost over £6,000 per annum; and if the other regulations are to be insisted upon, which is most likely, many hundreds of thousands of pounds must be expended. With the debt of the local bodies intrusted with administrative powers at £270,000,000, and local taxation at the high-water mark, this does not look encouraging for the purse-bearer.

The rigorous administration of the law in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign reduced enormously the numbers seeking relief. In 1858, with a population of a little over 19,000,000, the number of indoor poor was 126,500; while in 1899, with a population of 32,000,000, there were 200,000; but the number of outdoor recipients of relief had decreased from 790,000 to 514,000. The lesson of these figures has been absolutely thrown away upon His Majesty's present advisers. As the old administrators believed they could cure poverty by severity — and certainly they did weed out the ne'er-do-wells — so the new ones, with high sanction, have the grotesque idea put before them that the reverse policy

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will finally drive out the evil as St. Patrick drove the snakes from Ireland. Old people are to be attracted to make application to the Guardians, and thus be deliberately pauperized. A pleasant ending, indeed, to a life's work.

I have already hinted that the Poor-Law is a stumbling-block to real reform, and that it is used, as in the proposals of Mr. Chaplin, to impede progress, under the pretence of humanity. A Lincolnshire land-owner on the side of the poor is a novelty, and his proposals are more likely to pauperize than to create a race of sturdy, self-dependent Englishmen. The fundamental trouble in the social condition of England is land monopoly. To ask a landlord government to break it up is asking too much from human nature. But there is another phase of the land problem which is universally recognized as closely allied with the Poor-Law, and which must be reformed before the poor can have a fair chance of escaping the workhouse in early life, to say nothing of the sadder days when gray hairs have appeared.

The very close relation between the sanitary condition of the people and the Poor Law was recognized long before any attempt was made by Parliament to promote the general health of the community. More than sixty years ago the Poor-Law Commissioners were instructed to inquire as to the habits and manner of living of the working classes of that day; and, as might have been expected, they found the great bulk of the dwellers in the cities and towns living under conditions ruinous to health and strength. One-tenth of the population of Manchester, and one-seventh of that of Liverpool, lived in cellars built below the street level, where the rays of the sun never penetrated, and where fresh air never entered. Strange to relate, in the last-named city, with all its wealth and commercial importance, there are about 12,000 persons living in similar cellars at this very moment. The Commissioners further reported that disease originating in, or propagated by, means of filth and damp and over-crowded dwellings prevailed generally among the working classes in all parts of the kingdom, and that, while these diseases could be abated by improved sanitary conditions, they were not removed by high wages and abundant food if sanitary conditions were absent.

No wonder that such a state of affairs produced a large proportion of the Poor-Law charges from the classes who were the sufferers; for even high wages could not buy health, and when the bread-winner was struck down by illness caused by his surroundings, or was carried off by infectious disease, his family became a burden to the rate-payers for many years to follow. It was proved by evidence given at the inquiry that

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out of a total of 45,000 widows and 112,000 orphans in receipt of relief at that period, the immense majority had been so placed by preventable causes due to the neglect of sanitary arrangements. The epidemics of cholera which scourged Great Britain in the years 1832 and 1848 compelled the powers that were to examine more closely the entire subject; and it is recorded that the first cases in London and Edinburgh of the second outbreak occurred in the very same spots as those of the first.

In view of the legislation which has followed, and its beneficent results, it is worthy of notice that the pauperism of the country has declined to some extent; and I am of the opinion that no small share of the credit is due to the better sanitation which has been the rule since the forties. Sir Edwin Chadwick, C.B., estimates that 100,000 deaths due to preventable causes occur each year in England; and as by far the greater number of these are in the ranks of the working classes, we must have an enormous burden laid upon the shoulders of the rate-payers in the shape of maintenance through the medium of the Poor-Law. Dr. J. M. Rhodes, chairman of the Chorlton Union, Manchester, says that one-third of the money spent by the guardians is due to the unhealthy surroundings of the people. This fact alone shows the necessity for the Poor-Law guardians to push forward the cause of sanitary reform with all their might, as every change for the better means a reduced expenditure, to say nothing of the good done to the people themselves.

Take, for example, the masses compelled to live in unsanitary houses. Stricken with any illness, however slight, it is almost impossible for them to recover in such surroundings; and in any case a much longer time will be required to recover than if they lived under better conditions. They must, as a matter of fact, enter the workhouse hospitals, and their families must be maintained out of the rates until the time comes when they are able to resume their occupation. Ill health plays an important part in producing poverty among the working classes; and surely it were more real economy to prevent the causes, where possible, than to relieve the people when stricken down.

The death rate of Liverpool is about 23 per 1,000 for the entire city; but there are portions of the city where the rate averages 36. The thinly populated district of Toxteth, within the city boundaries, has a death rate of only 9; Walton, where the people are not crowded together, gives but 12 to the death roll; but the Scotland and Exchange parliamentary divisions, where the laboring classes dwell, show the terrible percentage of 36 per 1,000. All these people live in surroundings which have been described in the following words by the medical officer:

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"There is a large amount of property which is so constructed as to be destructive to the health and life of those living in it: pent up, airless, and sunless, ruinously dilapidated, and saturated with filth, it is not surprising to find the general rate of mortality in it, from year's end to year's end, rising to 60 per 1,000."

What is the result from the Poor-Law point of view? The medical officer gives the answer by relating the fact that out of every 100 deaths in one of the divisions named, 40 take place in the parish hospital or in one of the city hospitals, all maintained out of the rates. Last year I had a return taken out at the Brownlow Hill workhouse of the children suffering from ophthalmia; and I found that ninety per cent came from unsanitary houses, the great bulk of which had been already condemned by the medical officer.

The prevention of overcrowding must be adequately secured before anything like a serious change can take place in the health of the people. It is of no avail to do as many of our municipal councils are doing, *i.e.*, to pull down unsanitary dwellings, and refuse to erect houses in their stead to afford accommodation to the unhoused. There are densely populated districts in Liverpool which, technically speaking, are not unsanitary; that is to say, the houses are not built back to back, have a certain yard space at the rear, and comply with the building regulations of the day when they were erected. Owing, however, to the clearances of unsanitary property being out of proportion to the erection of new houses, four, five, and six families now occupy houses which were formerly occupied by one or two; and it is quite a common thing to find the court houses, which are unsanitary, having two and three families instead of the one that formerly lived therein. The medical officer's returns show 17,000 sublet houses in the city. Of these, 8,000 are admittedly unsanitary, but occupied; and during the year 1898 the inspectors found no less than 1,034 rooms overcrowded, and, what is worse, 605 "indecently" overcrowded, though not with immoral intent.

How can people living therein enjoy good health, when, for the most part, they are laborers whose average earnings never exceed 15*s.* per week, and whose work is carried on in the open air for the greater portion of the day, exposed to all kinds of weather? Indeed, Dr. Hope reported, in speaking of those admitted to the Corporation hospitals: "Many of those for whom admission was sought were without proper lodging in their own homes. Indeed, some of these homes had actually been condemned as unfit for human habitation." In Glasgow the results of overcrowding are the same. The death rate of those living in their own houses amounts to 11 per 1,000, while those who are compelled to live

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in single rooms, or even in two, are cut off at the rate of 27. Manchester tells the same sad story. In one portion of the city the death rate was over 40 per 1,000 against 15 in the less densely populated and sanitary portions of the city. At the Poor-Law Conference held in Ulverston in 1895, Sir Walter Foster declared that the ranks of pauperism were constantly being reinforced by the neglect of sanitary legislation, and that it was on the poor that death levied its heaviest rate.

Then we have the terrible scourges of zymotic diseases, which our overcrowded towns make more than possible, and the ravages of tuberculous diseases, associated as they are with dirt, bad ventilation, and unsanitary arrangements. What a fearful loss of life these cause to our country, and what a gigantic cost to the rate-payers in the maintenance of hospitals for the relief of the victims! Liverpool has spent through its corporation over £2,000,000 in providing accommodation for infectious cases, and nearly £30,000 annually for their maintenance. How much is spent by the guardians annually in the workhouse hospitals for the poor sufferers from phthisis, and for the relief of their families outside? The number of deaths, in recent years, among residents of Liverpool from this disease has averaged annually 1,186; and a close examination would reveal the terrible fact that the deaths have been for the most part among those in crowded streets.

Fresh air and sunlight, God's greatest gifts to man, will both relieve and cure; whereas fancy dietary tables, for which the poor will have to pay in the long run, are but mere trifings with a serious subject. By these agencies may be removed the sting from the bitter satire of the Scottish member of Parliament, uttered during the rejoicings of the Jubilee Year, 1897: "The Queen reigns over more subjects than any other monarch; *she also rules over more paupers.*"

THOMAS BURKE.

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THE RADICAL MOVEMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

AFTER the passing of the issues which were settled by the Civil War, and until the campaign of 1896, party lines in this country were drawn less and less upon opposing vital principles. Since 1896 a radical difference of policy has been apparent in the platforms of the chief contending parties. Inasmuch, however, as the Democratic party has been defeated in two national campaigns, it to-day faces the future in a condition of uncertainty. The verdict of 1900 has disposed of the free-silver issue; Mr. Bryan will not again be a candidate; and the proposition that the party return to the principles and leaders of the Cleveland régime is being systematically suggested through editorials, reviews, after-dinner speeches, and authorized interviews of many advocates. Doubtless, these utterances represent a considerable public opinion; but the student is likely to be disappointed in much of the argument offered, in that it attempts no calm, judicial relating of the recent party changes to the modern conditions of industry or to contemporary politics in our competitor nations.

We are, however, in no position to measure the significance of these changes unless we appreciate that they have come to pass in sympathy with great age tendencies, which may manifest themselves extravagantly, but which, nevertheless, are the inevitable product of the social and industrial evolution of the century, and, as such, bound to persist until their cause is removed. No other explanation is adequate. We have to deal with an unparalleled condition. In 1896 the Democratic party met in National Convention with the machinery of government in its hands, and a Democratic President in the chair of state. This President, with his advisers, had had immense facilities for influencing the personnel of the convention; and yet the latter met only to repudiate the President's leadership, to declare for radical and revolutionary principles, and to recognize leaders comparatively unknown in the party history.

To ascribe the action of the Chicago Convention to the influence of Mr. Bryan, and to say lightly, as certain campaign orators have said, that the body was virtually hypnotized by the "cross of gold" speech, is

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to ignore the fact that the convention was committed to radical views before Mr. Bryan spoke upon its floor, and to magnify unduly his personality. To say, similarly, that the action of the convention was due to a merely temporary manifestation of Populism is not satisfactory: first, because of the arbitrary assumption that the manifestation is merely temporary; and, second, because it fails to state why Populism should be so mighty or Democracy so weak that the former should capture the latter. It is, however, significant that the candidate of the Democratic party in 1896, and again in 1900, was acceptable to the Populist party, and that the sympathies of the two parties have been united since the Chicago Convention. And this means that a study of the present Democratic party and its policy must give respectful attention to the development and meaning of Populism.

The Populist party was born in a period of business depression, and has been from its inception avowedly a party of discontent. It has made its appeal to those who are dissatisfied with present-day social and economic conditions, and has sought to remedy the evils complained of through the enlarged entrance of the state as a factor in matters of industry and social relations. First organized as a national party in 1891, it was the political successor of the movement known as the "Farmers' Alliance." In the following year its candidate for the Presidency received more than 1,000,000 votes; being nearly twenty per cent of the number received by the successful Democratic candidate. This vote carried four States, secured twenty-two votes in the Electoral College, and placed eight members in the House and five in the Senate. In 1896 the party became virtually merged into the Bryan Democracy and practically ceased to be an independent factor.

The Populist party is interesting as a party, not only because of its swift rise in popular support, but also as the first political movement of large importance in this country to show clearly the influence of the modern Socialistic agitation. And it is, indeed, the contention of this article that the real significance of Populism and of the Bryan democracy, as political forms in our age evolution, is to be found in their Socialistic tendencies. This is not to say that either the Democratic or the Populist party now occupies, or is likely to occupy, in every essential, the position taken by the avowedly Socialistic writers and leaders. While the people may welcome a party influenced in its practical programme by Socialistic results, they will not trust the visionary and impracticable forces which take to themselves the name of Socialists. The academic Socialism, for example, with its complete theory of an ideal

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state, its materialistic conception of history, its mistaken psychology, and its intolerance of all present social conditions, involves too much that is new and untried to be approved by the popular vote. Its practical function is to persist as an agitation until that which is true in its reasoning shall impress the mass of the people. Thereafter a part at least of its programme will be taken up and exploited by one of the more conservative parties, which to this extent will show "Socialistic tendencies," although not necessarily committing itself in regard to the abstract theories of the Socialistic philosophy.

In this sense the Populist party is, and always has been, a party of Socialistic tendencies. It does not commit itself to any theory of complete Socialism; its platform contains no demand for a radically new social order; and the Socialistic party does not recognize it as expressing its ideals. Nevertheless, in its demand for government ownership of railroads, for municipal ownership of public utilities, and, in the language of the anti-trust plank of the 1900 platform, which declares that "the one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people," the Populist party discloses itself as the propagandist of the political idea of paternalism; and if its programme were carried out, it would be as great a step toward Socialism as the Socialistic party itself would be willing to bring to pass in its inaugural control of the government. Thus, also, the free-silver Republican party, another ally of the Bryan democracy, in its last national platform declares for municipal ownership of public utilities, and demands an enlargement of the sphere of government action in respect to the control of railroads.

The Democratic party, then, in the recent campaign, and in the earlier campaign of 1896, appeared in public alliance with parties having pronounced Socialistic tendencies; and while the Democratic party does not in its national platform declare for any of these distinctively Socialistic ideas, in many of its State platforms it uses language and expresses views which show its sympathy with its allies. This is also shown in the conduct of the two late campaigns, in which for the first time in our national history the spokesmen of a principal party have made social and financial inequality the basis of many of their arguments; appealing to the jealousy of the poor toward the rich, and borrowing their manner of speech, although not their formal statement of principles, from the Socialistic agitator.

The question now arises whether this tendency is likely to persist, or whether it should be regarded as something merely temporary; and the answer will be determined not by a theory, but by a condition. If

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the Socialistic propaganda impresses so many of our citizens that, measured by the standard of practical politics, it becomes desirable for a great party to support it, then the tendency will persist; otherwise it will disappear. The reason for this conclusion is found in the logical working of the two-party system. Under this system, although it may be hard to measure and define the progress of new political ideas, it is certain that so soon as a theory takes a fast hold on any considerable number of people, so as to control or tend to control their political activity, one party will be moved toward its support and the other toward its opposition. On *a priori* grounds, therefore, for the very reason that it has made its appearance, it may be argued that the tendency will persist, modified, from time to time, according to circumstances.

Further, a study of the politics of our competitor nations shows that the spirit of Socialism is universally gaining ground. So remarkable, indeed, is its progress that it is not too much to say that the most distinctive and interesting phenomenon in recent European politics is the rise and growth of the Socialistic parties. The record of this rise and growth may be shown in tabular form, although it would be possible through long and careful analysis only, to show the influence and extent of the Socialistic movement as it has modified and indirectly influenced the political programme of other parties than those which bear its name.

VOTE OF THE SOCIALISTIC PARTY IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.[1]

Denmark.	
1872	315
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1895	25,019
France.	
1885	30,000
1893	590,000
1898	1,000,000
Germany.	
1867	30,000
1877	468,843
1884	599,990
1890	1,427,298
1893	1,786,738
1898	2,125,000
Austria.	
1895	90,000
1897	750,000
Belgium.	
1894	334,500
1896	461,000
1898	534,324
Great Britain.	
1895	55,000
Italy.	
1893	20,000
1896	90,000
1897	134,496
Switzerland.	
1890	13,500
1896	36,468

Conditions in civilized nations in this age are so similar that from such a table we are justified in assuming that the movement shown

[1] "The Growth of Socialism," Gunton's Magazine, July, 1899. "The Progress of Socialism Since 1893," Prof. R. T. Ely, Chautauquan, October, 1899.

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is not local, but universal in its character. We must expect to find in this country many affected by it; and, applying the rule already laid down for a nation divided on the two-party system, we must expect that this movement will be recognized; that one of our parties will tend to become radical and Socialistic in its tone, and the other conservative and individualistic.

Advancing now a step further, not only do the facts show that the present age views the advance of Socialistic philosophy with increasing favor, but a study of recent industrial evolution makes it plain that this favor is not bestowed as a matter of chance, but in sympathy with well-defined changes of condition in economic production and distribution, which have come to pass during the century just closed. These changes have stimulated the spirit of Socialism not only in politics, but also in the academic field of theory. The Individualistic, or British, School of Economics is to-day fighting a losing battle to maintain its authority, and must soon pass into the background of the merely historic. For nearly a century after the publication of "The Wealth of Nations," in 1776, Adam Smith and his followers held the undisputed leadership of economic thought. The people found in their fundamental doctrine of free competition, resting upon the principles of personal liberty, private property, private inheritance, and freedom of contract, the best practical plan for the general betterment of the material life.

Within a comparatively recent period the external conditions of commercial and industrial endeavor have been so far changed that many of the laws upon which is based the British economic system are no longer applicable. Adam Smith, for example, recognized the evils of a private monopoly of any life necessity; but he demonstrated that free competition would make monopoly impossible. And so long as land-carriage of goods was by means of horses and "broad-wheeled waggons" — fifty wagons, one hundred men, and four hundred horses to every two hundred tons of goods — so long, indeed, were the transportation costs and inconveniences prohibitory for land trade over great distances. Thus in each centre were developed local industries, competing healthfully with similar institutions in relatively near territory, but not desirous or capable of supplying more than a limited market. With the introduction of the modern transportation system this condition passed away. Not only has it become possible, in the case of many commodities, to supply a world market from one central point of production; but, in addition, owing to increased specialization and use of machinery, with necessary increase of capital, it has become economical to turn

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out from one plant, equipped and maintained on a magnificent scale, what formerly would have been the product of a number of small establishments. Moreover, in those cases where concentration of this extreme type is not desirable, and where a distribution from independent plants is maintained, the advantages of consolidation may be realized; for the service of the express train, the telegraph, the telephone, and the post make possible combinations which would disintegrate were it not for the ease with which the managers keep in intelligent communication with each other.

These conditions, which were not even dreamed of at the beginning of the nineteenth century, are the leading factors of the industrial legacy of that century. Accordingly, we begin the twentieth century with a period of gigantic combination and consolidation in the business world. This condition by no means calls for a pessimistic conclusion, for the advantages of these great combinations are obvious. They economize production by saving waste and by transferring the burden of labor from men to machinery. They exist, moreover, as the inevitable result of our progress in invention and appliances, and characterize one stage of our advance toward the ultimate society. Even if we wished to return to a former condition we could not, except by reversing the wheels of destiny. It is idle to rail against trusts, monopolies, and combinations. We are living in the age of great things. These institutions have their warrant to live sanctioned by the divinities of steam and electricity. We cannot rid ourselves of them. If they in their power oppress us, the remedy is not in their destruction, but in their regulation and direction for the economic welfare of all.

Just at this point the logic of the Socialistic view appears; and, paradoxical as it may seem, many a moderate supporter of the new school begins his argument with the same proposition that served as a foundation to the reasoning of the old individualists. That is to say, both the old and the new theorists may agree that the ideal relation between state and industry, in any highly civilized community, is that which secures to each individual the largest opportunity to advance and to acquire a fair share of the world's material product. So long as conditions enabled free competition to maintain equal opportunity, so long the *laissez faire* doctrine maintained its authority as a rule of state. But in these days, as a result of natural causes, competition has in large part lost its efficacy as a regulator of industry; and, therefore, to the state succeeds this function. To determine the limitation of state regulation of industry is the problem of the future; and this problem will be solved prac-

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tically through long experiment, and after contests variously determined, and turning upon the action and reaction of an unstable public opinion.

The weakness of Socialism as a system is most manifest not in its destructive criticism of the present society, but in the unwarranted optimism with which it supports its proposed remedies, and in its lack of psychological foundation for its new social order. Moreover, even admitting that in the future much that is dreamed of by the Socialist may be realized, yet this result will not be reached by the methods he would prescribe. If we move toward a Socialistic goal, we shall move toward it by many stages; and we shall measure each as we move, without reference to any theory of an ultimate state, or indulgence in the dream of a Utopia to be realized through political effort. It remains true that whatever is practically good in Socialism will persist. It cannot be lost, but will be put forward from time to time as conditions ripen; and the people will take each new proposition as presented, and weigh it by itself upon its merits. For example, government ownership of railroads is a proposition no more committing the state to complete Socialism than government ownership of the postal mail service; and yet it would completely socialize the railroad industry, and its accomplishment would be in reality a victory for the Socialists, as against the Individualists.

At the dawn of the new century no political question in sight appears to be of more interest to humanity or more fraught with the destinies of the world than this same question of the relation of the state to industry. Viewed from this standpoint, not only does a return of Democracy to the standard of the Cleveland régime seem improbable; but, in a broad sense, it would be undesirable. It is well to have a definite issue between our great parties; and if, as many students and statesmen believe, the evolution of society shall proceed on lines of Socialistic principles, moving as far in this direction as society after experiment and testing may decide to be good, the early dividing of the parties upon this issue is a desideratum, and not a misfortune. From the Republican standpoint, this new departure of Democracy may be viewed with complacency. The politics of the conservative party are bound to be eminently respectable and safe; while the radical party, from its very nature, will attach to itself wild theorists and impracticable visionaries, as well as to those calmer progressionists whose judgments will in the long run control it. From time to time it will find itself committed to dangerous and extravagant fallacies, as, for example, was the Democratic party in relation to the money question in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900; but it will be also the exponent of much that is good and permanent.

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And when, at length, the reviewer writes the story of the struggle, recognizing how each party held in check the other, how the absurdities of radicalism were checked by conservatism, and how in turn the conservatives were stimulated and kept alert by new ideas framed on the radical side, he will yield homage in equal measure to the opposing views, lacking either one of which we could not have made progress in orderly fashion. WILLIAM C. MAINS.

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WHY NOT THREE HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE?

WILL the United States have a population of 300,000,000 by the end of the twentieth century? Let us hope so. The nineteenth century has brought the nation from a handful of scattered and struggling people to the front rank among the great countries of the world. If it is to maintain that proud position and take its place absolutely at the head of the world's great nations, it must increase in population and productivity, and maintain its power of participation in all the affairs of the busy world, whose population by that time will be more than three billions of people. To that end our waste places must be peopled, our great natural resources developed, our power of self-support intensified, and our facilities of interchange among ourselves, and with the whole world, multiplied. For this we need people — people with sturdy muscles and active minds, with earnest hearts and purposes. The people now distributed over this splendid area of ours being of that character, why should we not have even before the end of the century the 300,000,000 active, intelligent, successful people which the United States will require to maintain its position at the head of the world's list of great nations?

It seems to me that a study of present conditions in the United States and in other parts of the world — to say nothing of a consideration of what the future may provide in intensification of products, utilization of waste material, and interchange among peoples and countries — fully justifies us in looking forward with hopefulness and confidence to the time when the population of our present territory will reach the full limit which has been predicted for the twentieth century.

We naturally reach conclusions upon subjects of this character, first, by considering present conditions and those known to us historically, and, second, by a consideration of what the future seems likely to develop before the arrival of the condition to which the study is to be applied.

The first inquiry, then, is whether present conditions in more densely populated parts of the world, if applied to the United States, would justify the assumption that our own territory is capable of supporting the population suggested.

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We are accustomed to think of China, Japan, Java, and India as the most densely populated parts of the world, and to accept the present condition of their population as the measure of conditions which would prevail in our own country if a similar density of population were applied. But in all these cases the density of population is not accompanied by facilities of internal communication which make it practicable, through development and exchange of natural products and manufactures, to utilize to their fullest capacity the producing powers which nature has furnished. In China there are practically no railroads and few wagon roads. In Japan railways and transportation routes for vehicles are better developed than those of China, though not yet to be compared with those of European countries; and the effect of this better development as compared with China is shown in the generally accepted fact that, as a whole, the condition and prosperity of the people of Japan surpass those of China, despite the fact that the average density of population in Japan is greater than that of China proper, exclusive of the dependencies of Mongolia, Manchuria, Thibet, etc. In Java and Madura, where 26,000,000 people occupy an area about equal to that of the State of Alabama, which has less than 2,000,000, the population being 517 per square mile, there are but 1,200 miles of railway, with only a fair development of highways.

The density of even China, Japan, or Java, however, does not equal that of certain European countries which are now considered exceptionally prosperous, but which have ample means of communication within their own limits and with other parts of the world. Belgium had in 1897 a population of 579 per square mile, with 2,867 miles of railway, 5,743 miles of public roads, and 1,370 miles of navigable waters and canals; the area is less than that of Maryland, but the population sustained is six times as great. Netherlands in 1898 had a population of 401 per square mile, with about 1,000 miles of railway, 3,000 miles of navigable water, exclusive of canals, and 1,907 miles of canals, in an area about equal to that of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined, but a population 50 per cent greater than that of those densely populated States. England and Wales had in 1891 a population of 498 per square mile, with 15,000 miles of railway, 2,208 miles of canals, and an admirable highway system; the area being about equal to that of the State of Georgia, and the present population twelve times as great.

Porto Rico, which is looked upon as having an extremely dense population, has only about 225 inhabitants per square mile, with very little development in railways and roads; and General Roy Stone, who has

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spent much time in that island since American occupation, stated, in a recent address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, that in his opinion the island, which now sustains less than 1,000,000 inhabitants, can well support fully 5,000,000 people, since not more than one-fourth of the soil is now under cultivation. By properly developing its producing powers, and exchanging these products for food-stuffs from other parts of the world, it would probably be able to sustain more than five times its present population, or more than 1,000 per square mile. Barbadoes, one of the British West Indies, has a population of more than 1,100 per square mile, yet is looked upon as a prosperous community. The two most prosperous countries of the world, aside from the United States, are England and Germany; yet they now sustain, on a combined area less than that of Texas, a population greater than that of the entire United States and 25 times as great as that which Texas now supports.

Laying aside present conditions in individual countries, it seems not improper to consider conditions in Europe as a whole, and, by applying them to the United States, estimate the power of our country to sustain a population under conditions which now prevail in modern well-developed communities. For this study it seems proper to consider all of Europe except Norway, Sweden, and Russia, whose climatic conditions do not justify a comparison with the present territory of the United States, exclusive of Alaska. Combining the United Kingdom and the continent of Europe, exclusive of Norway, Sweden, and Russia, it may be said that the amount of waste land by reason of mountainous conditions is quite as great in proportion to area as in the United States, though the proportion of area in the United States now looked upon as unproductive by reason of arid conditions is proportionately much greater than in Europe.

Laying aside for the moment the question of the power of our arid regions to sustain a population, let us apply present conditions of population in Europe to the area of the United States and see what they would indicate as to the power of supporting, in at least a fair degree of comfort, a population such as that predicted for this country at the end of the present century. Taking the latest data of population and area as published in official and semi-official statements, and bringing these statements down to date by an application of the rate of increase in the latest years for which accurate percentages of growth can be obtained, it may be said that the present population of Europe (exclusive of Norway, Sweden, and Russia) is 269,226,000, and the area 1,328,088 square miles, giving an average density of population for the entire area under consid-

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eration of 202.7 per square mile, or eight times our present average per square mile. The area of the United States, exclusive of our island territory and Alaska, is about 3,000,000 square miles; applying to this area the European density of 202.7 per square mile, we should have a population of 602,019,000, or double the 300,000,000 promised for the end of the century.

Grouping the more densely populated parts of Europe — Belgium, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom — and applying their present average population per square mile to the area of the United States, exclusive of Alaska and our island territory, the calculation would give a population for the United States of 1,084,640,000. The density of population in the State of Rhode Island, as shown by the census of 1900, is 395 per square mile; and applying this to the entire area of the United States, exclusive of Alaska and the island territory, would give a population of 1,173,150,000.

It is not assumed, in applying present conditions of population in Europe or certain parts of the United States to our entire area, that its present productivity or productive power under present conditions averages as high as that of Europe or of the more thoroughly developed parts of our own country. As already observed, the mountain area of the United States is probably no greater proportionately than that of Europe; but the area now denominated "arid," and looked upon as capable at present of sustaining a very limited population only, may prove, when properly developed, much more valuable in this particular than is at present generally considered. It is a well-known fact that most of the lands termed "arid" prove extremely productive when supplied with a sufficient quantity of water; their producing power being even greater, in many instances, per unit of area, than that of those parts now generally looked upon as our most fertile and productive regions.

It cannot be expected that all, or, indeed, any large share, of our arid territory, which is estimated as occupying about one-fifth of the area of the country, can ever be supplied with such quantity of water as is required for the successful cultivation of the class of agricultural products now supplied by the more fertile and highly favored sections. This fact, however, does not prove the incapacity of this great arid region to sustain life. It is well known that large herds of cattle and sheep are now sustained upon vast areas which a few years ago were looked upon as entirely valueless. And while it is probably true that these areas are now sustaining nearly as large an amount of animal life as they can properly support under present conditions, it may be assumed that they

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would, if properly protected and managed, support an animal life far in excess of that which they are now sustaining.

In support of this assertion we have but to consider the conditions which Nature was supplying when man took possession of this area, and before he proceeded, through lack of consistent management, to decrease rather than increase its life-producing powers. When man invaded this "great American desert" half a century ago, he found it occupied by vast herds of buffalo, antelope, mountain sheep, and other fauna, which found ample subsistence on the natural flora of the country. Its grasses and other plants, though thin and at times parched, were extremely rich in life-sustaining qualities; and Nature had adapted the races of animals produced under those conditions to life with a small water supply, and had enabled them to thrive upon the natural products of this section. The destruction of the buffalo by slaughter, and of the antelope and mountain goat through the lack of water, which was carried off into wells or utilized for irrigation purposes, and the consumption of the grasses by vast herds of sheep and cattle, have practically exterminated the races of animals which Nature had produced as adapted to the peculiar conditions of that great section. With such increase in our population as should require the highest productivity in the various sections of our country, and the application of intelligent and scientific methods in the adaptation of animal and vegetable life to these comparatively non-productive areas, the latter would doubtless produce a much greater food supply, and thus sustain a much larger population, than at present.

As to the possibilities of this now comparatively unoccupied region, we may, without impropriety, apply words written thousands of years ago:

"He turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into water-springs. And there he maketh the hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a city for habitation; and sow the fields, and plant vineyards, which may yield fruits of increase; He blesseth them also, so that they are multiplied greatly; and suffereth not their cattle to decrease."[1]

Another development which has just been begun, and which may be expected to prove of great benefit in increasing the productivity of a given area, is the application to manufacture, mining, and agricultural production of the great natural supply of power now going to waste in the watercourses and along the ocean front of the country. The closing years of the century have shown to man the practicability of developing and transporting upon a simple piece of wire the tremendous power of Niagara and of the smaller waterfalls which are found in all parts of the

[1] Psalms, 107: 35–38.

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country, even in those mountain and semi-arid sections which are now looked upon as in a certain degree waste area. In the past it has been impracticable to convey the material to be manufactured to the point where Nature supplies the water-power; but now that man has learned how to transport that power a score or a hundred miles, may he not in the near future learn to transport it a much greater distance, and with less loss than at present, and to apply it not alone to manufacturing and mining, but to many of those features of agriculture which now require application of animal or human power? With the facility for applying the power which Nature so lavishly furnishes, not only to manufacturing and mining but to the tilling of every foot of available soil, and supplementing this with an intelligent understanding of soils and climates, and the selection of plants and animals best suited to them, the productivity of our great area can be enormously increased.

But it is not alone in the application of advanced methods to the surface of our wonderful country that we may expect improved conditions and increased power of sustaining population. We have in the United States what may be not improperly termed a "two-story country." No other part of the developed world has such valuable supplies beneath the surface. Our iron, our copper, our coal, our petroleum, our natural gas, our phosphates, to say nothing of our gold and silver and other minerals of high values, are already known as surpassing in nearly every case those of any other country. Every year brings new developments in this search for the requirements of life and supplies of natural wealth which are produced from beneath the surface, and which, in many cases, greatly exceed in value those of the surface area in which they are located. In this work of bringing to the surface and utilizing the vast supplies which Nature has stored within the territory now known as the United States, the great supplies of natural power already referred to will be also utilized; and thus employment given to increasing numbers of people; and our facilities for supplying those articles which man in all parts of the world requires will be multiplied, and the articles so produced will be exchanged for such food and other supplies of the soil as can be more readily produced in other lands.

Experience and the necessity which will come with increased population will also teach the Americans three important lessons which they have not yet learned: (1) The utilization of lands which are now unused; (2) the utilization of products which are now considered valueless; and, (3) the more economical utilization of the articles of daily requirement.

To-day the uncultivated area of even the most thickly populated

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parts of our country is very great. Ride on the trains between Washington, the capital of the nation, and New York, its greatest commercial centre, and you find yourself passing mile after mile through lands which apparently have never been disturbed by the plough, and which, with the accumulation of centuries of forest growth, could but be productive. Note the fields which you pass and you will see considerable spots uncultivated because of a lack of proper drainage, or the lack of application of those principles of economy which would come with a more dense population in other parts of the country, from which supplies are now more conveniently drawn.

As the natural and mechanical sciences develop, wood will be more and more replaced by metals and minerals. Iron and steel now perform the duties which were formerly required of wood in the construction of buildings, bridges, ocean-going vessels, railway cars, and many other things, and thus are constantly reducing the proportion of our area which must be devoted to the production of timber; our enormous supply of coal, petroleum, and natural gas is constantly reducing the demand for a retention of forest area for fuel purposes; and when electricity produced from natural water-power shall be utilized for heat the demand will be still further reduced. While the retention of a certain forest area will always be necessary by reason of its effect upon rainfall, a reduction of demand for timber through these causes would facilitate the adjustment of the timber area to meteorological requirements and the utilization for other purposes of such portion of the present timber area as would not be so required. An intelligent application of labor to soil will also increase greatly its production both in the quality and quantity of life-sustaining plants.

Besides increasing enormously the cultivable area and the power of production on a given area, there will also be a more complete utilization of the products of the soil. Cotton seed, for example, was a few years ago considered not only useless, but an actual burden to the producer of cotton; now the exportation of its products, most of which are used for food for man or animals, amounts to $25,000,000 a year, and the total value of the product probably to more than double that sum. Sugar, a highly concentrated food, is sold to-day for less than one-half its price a few years ago; and we have learned that we may easily produce in the United States all the sugar that our present 75,000,000 or a future 300,000,000 people would require. And with this increase in its production will come its adaptation to the preservation and utilization of fruits and other products of the soil which are now wasted in immeasurable quantities.

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Recent experiments justify the belief that our soil and climate will enable us to produce the rice, the wines, the tea, the silk, the fibres, the tobacco, and also most of the tropical fruits for which we now send abroad over $100,000,000 annually, whenever American ingenuity provides such labor-saving machinery as to enable us to produce them as cheaply as they are supplied by the low-priced labor of the countries whence we now obtain them. A higher development of skill and scientific attainments will enable our manufacturers of chemicals to produce from the natural supplies of our forests and mines most of the articles of this character for which we now send abroad over $50,000,000 annually. The recent development of the cold-storage system has shown that millions of dollars' worth of products which were formerly considered "perishable," and which, therefore, were produced in limited quantities only — and much of that production was lost — may now be preserved in their natural state indefinitely, and thus the loss from wastage and natural causes be avoided. Hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of "by-products" are now produced from that which a few years ago was permitted to go to waste; and this process of conserving human labor and utilizing the products of the soil has but just begun.

Still another lesson which the American will learn, with another century of experience and with increased density of population, is that of economy in the utilization of the articles necessary to daily life. To-day we are proverbially a recklessly extravagant people. The farmer wastes much of the product of his fields by piling it up in cribs and stacks to deteriorate through the action of the weather. The people of cities and towns, in the space which they occupy, in their methods of life, in the foods which they consume, and in the loss in the preparation of those foods, are in many cases extravagant and in many cases wasteful. The ordinary family of five which occupies its separate residence utilizes as much of space and heat and light as would serve several times that number if intelligently applied, and serve them with much greater convenience and with the expenditure of less nerve-destroying power in solving the servant problem. The housewife who buys a pound of chops or two pounds of steak at retail must necessarily pay double or treble what the keeper of a great establishment would pay if he bought the entire sheep or ox and utilized all its parts in a methodical and scientific manner; and the fire which cooks the pound or two of food would perform the same service for ten times that quantity, and so cheapen the cost and reduce the amount of labor. Improvements in the recently developed system by which food-stuffs are purchased in large quantities, and are

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cooked and prepared for distribution to consumers by canning, will reduce cost and labor to the consumer. The enormous quantity of food now required to sustain the life of the 25,000,000 horses and mules which so faithfully serve our 75,000,000 people will be applied to sustaining human life or food animals when the application of electricity and other forms of motive power creates a horseless age.

But we shall not be required to produce within our own borders all the food supplies which a nation of 300,000,000 people will demand. Lying immediately south of us is a great undeveloped continent, South America; and at no great distance, as distances are now measured, is another undeveloped continent, Africa. Immediately north of us is a great area, considerable portions of which will prove productive agriculturally; and the continent of Australia, equal in size to the United States, will also greatly increase its power of food production. Upon these great areas, which a century hence will be to the densely populated United States what we now are to densely populated Europe, our country may then draw for such portion of its food supply as is inconvenient to produce at home; and in exchange we may offer the manufactures and other requirements of daily life which our unsurpassed and almost unbounded natural facilities, coupled with American ingenuity, will enable our country to supply more cheaply than any other part of the world.

With a great railway system stretching from Patagonia to Alaska, and connecting across Bering Strait with an Asiatic railway system; with wireless telegraphy enabling instantaneous communication from city to city, and telephones so developed that man may speak from continent to continent; with the art of ocean navigation much more highly developed, and perhaps the navigation of the air as completely mastered as that of the ocean is to-day, the United States, with its power to interchange its products, will be in touch with those of other lands, and its power to sustain a population of 300,000,000 — yes, even a billion — will be greater than that by which the prosperous nations of Europe sustain their present population.

The following table shows the population, area, and density of population per square mile of the densely populated countries of Europe and Asia, and the equivalent population which that density would give if applied to the United States; the population is estimated for January 1, 1901, the estimates being based upon the latest official figures. The figures of area are from the Statesman's Year-Book.

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Countries.	Area.	Population.		Equivalent population for the United States.[1]
		Total.	Per square mile.	
Belgium	11,373	6,803,000	598	1,776,060,000
Netherlands	12,648	5,227,000	413	1,226,610,000
United Kingdom	120,979	40,930,000	338	1,003,860,000
Italy	110,646	32,045,000	290	861,300,000
Germany	208,830	55,131,000	264	784,080,000
Switzerland	15,976	3,150,000	198	588,060,000
France	204,092	38,693,000	190	564,300,000
Austria-Hungary	240,942	44,792,000	186	552,420,000
Denmark	15,289	2,403,000	177	525,690,000
Portugal	34,528	5,080,000	147	436,590,000
Servia	19,050	2,312,000	121	359,370,000
Roumania	48,307	5,800,000	120	356,400,000
Greece	25,014	2,539,000	101	299,970,000
Spain	197,670	18,619,000	94	279,180,000
Turkey	62,744	5,711,000	91	270,270,000
Total of Europe*	1,328,088	269,235,000	202.7	602,019,000
Belgium, Netherlands, and United Kingdom combined	145,000	52,960,000	365.2	1,084,640,000
Europe*	1,328,088	269,226,000	202.7	602,019,000
China[2]	1,336,841	386,000,000	289.0	858,330,000
Japan	147,655	43,761,000	296.4	880,308,000
Java and Madura	50,554	26,125,000	516.8	1,535,000,000
India	1,559,603	320,000,000	205.2	603,282,000

[1] Exclusive of Alaska and island territory.
* Exclusive of Sweden, Norway, and Russia.
[2] Exclusive of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Thibet.

O. P. Austin.

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NOTES ON ITALIAN POLITICS.

PUBLIC opinion in Italy and abroad is still busily speculating as to the probable influence Victor Emmanuel III will exert over the political destinies of the State, the guidance of which, under strict constitutional limitations, was thrust into his hands with such awful suddenness some months ago. Many contend that while faithfully adhering to the letter of the "Statuto," he will incline to a broader interpretation of its spirit, in so far as regards the political prerogatives of his kingly office, and that he will infuse into his relations with his Parliament and ministers more of his own personality than was the wont of his immediate predecessor. In matters political they look for a revival of the vigorous court influences exerted during the reign of his grandfather, Victor Emmanuel II, and adduce in support of this theory the alleged failure of King Humbert, by the adoption of the rôle of political self-effacement, adequately to advance the best interests of the State.

Opinions as to the course which should be taken by the young sovereign are as the traditional leaves at Vallombrosa; but on one point all thinking men are agreed, namely, the necessity and urgency of reform, economical, financial, and social, including a more equitable distribution of the burdensome taxation. Taxation, which now falls so heavily on certain classes of the population, is the cause not only of discontent, but often of serious political disturbance.

The question naturally arises as to what extent the King can be justly held amenable for the agitation that periodically seethes throughout the country, which undeniably looks to him for relief. Few stop to think how far the political influence of the Constitutional Ruler would be permitted to extend before being rudely denounced by the hysterical portion of the various factions of the anti-dynastic opposition, amid loud heralding of the dire peril threatening the guarantees of public liberties. The anti-dynastic demonstrations fomented by the advanced parties, and supported by the clericals, when the royal sanction was accorded General Pelloux's now famous "decretone," and the obstructionism was adopted in the chamber — the extreme left and constitutional

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opposition making common cause in their accusations against the Crown of an attempt to tear to shreds the "Statuto," and trample upon the public liberties — are still fresh in the minds of all. These demonstrations, together with the falling off in the ministerial majority when an appeal to the country was hazarded last June, left little doubt as to the suspicion with which the measure was viewed.

How far Italian elections represent the real national sentiment is, however, a disputed point. Certain it is that the great mass of the Italian people have no taste for revolutions or political upheavals. This was conclusively demonstrated during the long struggle for national independence and unity; and it was demonstrated, moreover, at a time when the people groaned under such political and administrative abuses as have been rarely equalled in modern times. The regeneration, or rather the reconstruction, of Italy was political, not social. And therein lies one of the most difficult problems of the present crisis; for it is impossible to tell when the unregenerated forces may spring up in their might and threaten to overwhelm constituted authority.

With the death of Victor Emmanuel II the revolutionary phase of the evolution of Italian nationality was brought to a close. But unity, although accomplished geographically, was still remote from the political and social ideal cherished by the noble, simple-minded patriots, who sacrificed their all to its fulfilment. Although the sword was sheathed after 1870, the enormous personal prestige surrounding the Liberator King carried his government triumphantly through political and social complications, the nature of which must eventually cause grave embarrassment to a successor less directly and individually associated in the public mind with the great military and diplomatic achievements of national reconstruction. It has been said that the reign of Humbert comprised and marked the period of evolution from the revolutionary monarchy, at once heroic and "bourgeois," to the monarchy which, without breaking with its traditions, must be democratic — to the monarchy, in fine, whose function in a country endowed with a parliamentary system should be that of harmonizing the old ideals concerning the majesty and glory of the State with the modern social and economical conception of the institution.

Certainly no one recognized the truth of this more fully than did Humbert himself. Certainly no ruler ever blended more harmoniously in his person the democratic attributes exacted by the modern conception of the First Citizen of the State with the traditional ideal of kingly dignity. If failure there was in the attainment of the transcendental political re-

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sults dreamed of by the militant — not always very practical — patriots of the revolutionary period, the blame cannot in fairness be laid on him. Nor can it be laid with absolute justice at the door of the ministries, which have succeeded one another with such frequency since 1876, when the statesmen who walked in the footsteps of Cavour gave place to the representatives of the various shades of what has been called pure democracy.

When Depretis assumed the direction of national affairs at that period, his one aim was to clinch his hold on power by means of a subtle amalgamation of the political elements constituting the chambers. To this excessive opportunism, both in the construction of his various cabinets and in his dealing with the legislative problems, every traditional ideal was made subservient, when not totally sacrificed. To this tenacity of office at any price is due the gradual, but certain, dissolution of anything worthy of the name of party, and the formation of crude political factions, hardly amounting to more than cliques, surrounding some more or less conspicuous individuality. Such ephemeral, unsubstantial combinations, having served the ends for which they were brought into being, rapidly disintegrated, leaving in their stead the parliamentary individualism from which the country suffers to-day. Hence the long series of coalition ministries, or ministries of conciliation, depending for life not on the broad, collective national issues, but on mutual concessions or combinations fomented in the lobbies of Montecitorio.

Although in Italy the politician of the baser stamp, the man who utilizes his influence to advance his sordid personal ends, is, alas, not uncommon, the percentage of individual probity is high. The leaders of parties and the statesmen who have held high office have been, with notably few exceptions, conspicuous for personal integrity and impeccability. But the possession of a political conscience is a rarity, and the conceit of "individualism" widespread and increasing.

The often negative, and at best meagre, legislative results of the last twenty years are the fruits of this national evil. The Italian, although eminently practical in his private affairs, has thus far failed to appreciate the strength of political cohesion and party discipline. As has been said, he is, politically speaking, an individualist, yet not the less a patriot, in the narrow, personal sense of the term. He has not yet succeeded in divesting himself of the abnormal suspiciousness which is the inheritance of centuries of misrule and spoliation, of sullen submission to priestly craft and political violence, combined for ages to defraud him of his natural rights and freedom. Conspiracy is still the weapon

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to which he turns instinctively. As a consequence, the Government of the Free Italy of to-day has continually to reckon with conspiracies from any source.

Until 1882 the political franchise exacted an annual contribution of forty lire (about $8) as the minimum taxation entitling a citizen to vote. Signor Crispi then reduced this amount so considerably that practically every Italian who could read and write might have a voice at the polls. This measure was energetically denounced at the time as a dangerous concession to socialism; yet, as a matter of fact, so ignorant and so addicted to inertia are the masses, where their political rights are concerned, that popular initiative in the selection of their representative — especially in the south — can hardly be said to exist. On the other hand, the obscure agents of subversive factions have not been slow to recognize the power thus within their reach, and have taken advantage of the general apathy to foist on the electors in the more ignorant districts (the towns not excluded) candidates of the most dangerous type. Nor, owing to the national tendency to individualism, are the candidates brought forward by the Government very generally to be counted upon in a political crisis.

Again, the socialist element, recruited from among the municipal cabals of the larger towns, grows in power with every election, menacing the seats of the wealthy and influential landowners and manufacturers controlling large local interests. The small egotisms, the petty personal pugnacities, the local self-seeking at the expense of national interests, and, above all, the smugly complacent individualism displayed by a majority of such representatives, have gone far in discrediting the parliamentary system in the eyes of the nation.

While we sorrowfully note the cynical scepticism which has permeated Parliament, the magistracy, and journalism, flinging its corroding spray over the most sacred national institutions, we must seek deeply if we would appreciate the cause. Two incalculably potent forces retard the true political development and social regeneration of Italy: the Past and the Vatican. What are forty years of political franchise as against fifteen centuries of degrading tyranny? Reference has been made above to the paralyzing effects of the first. While some unduly belittle, others are prone to exaggerate, the influence of the latter over the ultimate emancipation of political Italy. Already there are signs of an awakening to political as distinguished from religious duties. A few communes in the north — chiefly in Venetia — still persist in their refusal to take any part in national politics since the occupation of Rome;

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but the denizens of the south gayly make "festa" at the polls before the last echo of the Mass they have just attended has died away.

The unparalleled example of disciplinary power presented by the Papacy confronts the disjointed political factions wrangling over sordid local interests, and may well serve as an object-lesson to the prevailing spirit of individualism. It is unwise to be pessimistic when dealing with Italy. We have only to glance at what Italians have accomplished, in spite of their difficulties, in order to be reassured as to what the future will bring forth, provided the old patriotic creeds be adhered to. King Humbert, "Humbert the Good," as even his enemies have styled him, although condemned, by reason of his personal scruples and interpretation of the constitutional restrictions of his office, to a negative political activity, nevertheless represented the embodiment of the patriot, in the broadest and noblest acceptation of the word. Thoroughly in touch with his people, especially with the humble and the lowly, his appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of his "trade," as he was wont to term it, was subtle and profound. But he, too, shared the suspiciousness of his countrymen, when brought in contact with the politician. He often, some say too often, entrenched himself behind the constitutional limitations of his office when brought face to face with parliamentary deadlocks.

This refusal to lend his personal influence, or to throw the weight of the prestige of his office into the scales at times when the proceeding would have been strictly in accordance with precedent, has evoked diverse criticism. There is ground, however, for the belief that Humbert retained the firm conviction that the greatest good to the greatest number lay not in the ephemeral success of contending factions led by hot-headed extremists, but in the slow and gradual evolution of the imperishable truths set forth in that same "Statuto," unswervingly upheld by three generations of his house.

It would be unsafe to build too confidingly on the lasting effects of the popular outburst of devotion and dynastic sentiment which electrified all Italy on the dire news of the Monza tragedy; but the most sceptical admit that the blood shed by Bresci's bullet has cemented the ties between people and dynasty to an extent which the most sweeping legislative concessions would have been powerless to encompass. It would be equally hazardous to affirm that even the more tractable of the heterogeneous elements in Parliament will be prepared to view with complacency any wider immission in public affairs by Victor Emmanuel III. But the prediction may be ventured upon that should he see fit,

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when the occasion arises, to revive constitutional prerogatives which have been allowed to fall into disuse, he will not be denied the support of a considerable number of enlightened patriots — in and outside the chambers — whether belonging to the rigidly conservative or frankly democratic ranks.

The hour is a critical one for Italy. Will the representatives in Parliament discard the selfish conceit of individualism, and, putting aside their mutual suspicions and jealousies, rally round the free and liberal institutions they themselves have chosen, at the cost of such untold suffering and glorious martyrdom? H. REMSEN WHITEHOUSE.

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OUR NEGLECTED AND PROSPECTIVE INLAND WATERWAYS.

For three quarters of a century the mechanical world has been railroad mad. All other modes of inland transportation were neglected, if not absolutely abandoned, until within the last decade or so. With the new century, however, there is every indication that the vast outlay of capital for improvements, which it has been customary to lavish on the steam railway, will find an overflow in the construction of great inland waterways that will dwarf in magnitude and usefulness even some of our larger rivers.

While the last century belonged to the steam engine, the present seems destined to bring the steamboat as a means of transportation to an equality with the railroad train. The building of the Suez Canal merely demonstrated possibilities, while the Manchester, Kiel, and Sault Ste. Marie ship canals and the Chicago drainage canal have proved that with the possibilities of modern engineering skill and mechanical appliances, there are no insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in extending deep waterways almost indefinitely in every direction throughout any country not diversified with high mountains.

The day of the barge canal must soon pass by. That this is a recognized probability of the near future is demonstrated by the fact that the American Government has actually spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on the survey of a ship canal from Lake Erie to the ocean, while Russia contemplates a similar twenty-eight foot channel from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and will soon spend $40,000,000 on a ship canal connecting the Black with the Caspian Sea. The completion of these waterways would allow the largest steamships afloat to load at Chicago for Central Asian ports on the Caspian or for the larger cities of innermost Russia.

Even should the Federal Government delay its project of expending a quarter of a billion dollars on the construction of a great ship canal across the Empire State, the progressive business men of the East will not remain indifferent while the West sets them example after example of

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twentieth-century enterprise. In fact, Chicago's drain is already morally forcing New York State into the expenditure of $60,000,000 for the foundation of a ship canal 400 miles long, and this must sooner or later be followed by the cutting of the Rhode Island ship canal by Massachusetts.

New England has been most neglectful of the various sections as to her waterways; but ever prodigal to ungrateful Boston, Nature has ordained that her harbor shall always remain the one farthest north in the United States which can be united with the great inland system of American waterways. Nature seems to cry aloud to man, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther"; and, willing or not, Boston Harbor must always remain the logical head of 24,000 miles of American inland waterways. It only remains for the Bostonians to dig a twenty-four mile ditch to remove the reproach of splendid and hurtful isolation. However, New York city, long the palm into which the riches of America have dropped, must always share with Boston. It is from this palm the great American system of canals and waterways radiates like so many fingers, with Long Island Sound, a strong undirected wrist and forearm, with its great guiding sinew which should control the workings of the fingers, flapping idly in the waters of Narragansett Bay, waiting for Boston to seize and unite it with the great body of water at her gateway.

With her natural advantages Boston, instead of Chicago, should desire to make of herself the fulcrum on which the American Board of Trade must be balanced. A map of the United States showing all completed or suggested navigable waterways places Boston at the apex of a pyramid of country, intersected by connected rivers and canals, so vast in area that its base extends from southern Texas to northern Montana; and steamers and immense barges will be able to navigate from the apex to cities located in forty different States, containing more than ninety per cent of the wealth and population of America.

Perhaps, however, by following the simile of a hand and its five fingers we can best judge of the relation of Boston and New York to the waterways of America. Place your right hand palm downward on a map of the United States, with the wrist upon Boston. You will find that the thumb stretches along the Southern coast line. Already a system of canals and natural inland waterways extends from Providence, Rhode Island, almost as far south as Wilmington, North Carolina. These are being improved and deepened; and some day the force of events will compel the Government, or individual States, to make them ship channels. A regular, but broken, system of natural waterways extends from the point where the thumb bends at Hatteras to beyond the confines of Texas.

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The forefinger naturally follows upon the map the course of the Virginia Canal — proposed and begun by Washington — and the Ohio River.

Pittsburg is hopeful now of connecting herself by ship canal with the lakes as well as the ocean, a plan engineers have always pronounced feasible. The middle finger of our Boston-guided hand stretches by way of the Erie Canal to the Great Lakes; while the next finger is stretching itself in the direction of Lake Superior and the great artificial waterways that must some day connect it with Lake Winnipeg, or, possibly, the upper Missouri, in which case Boston would have a direct reach to Helena, Montana, at the foothills of the Rockies. The little finger, by some straining, might be made to lie upon the Champlain Canal and Ottawa River. If any of these projects seem chimerical, how must we class the sober proposition of the projectors of the Ottawa Canal to put on a fast line of fourteen-foot draught cattle steamers between Chicago and Liverpool, or the accomplished result of the St. Lawrence canals, which pass ships from the Great Lakes laden with grain for New York and Europe?

Canada, with a population perhaps twice that of Massachusetts, has spent $60,000,000 building canals, and anticipates spending as much more. New York State, with a population not three times that of Massachusetts, has spent almost as much as Canada on her canals, and anticipates an expenditure in the near future which will perhaps dwarf the cost of the proposed Nicaragua Canal; while, as has been stated, if the general Government provides the quarter of a billion dollars asked for, New York State will have a ship channel twenty-eight feet deep, from Buffalo to the Narrows.

Even the easy-going Southland is waking up to the importance of her waterways, and ardently desires deep inland water connection with New England. The coal of Virginia would quickly seek the inland route to New York, were the Delaware and the New Jersey canals deepened even to fourteen feet; for the necessarily powerful storm-proof barges sent to Northern ports by way of the ocean cost upward of $75,000 each, while flat-bottomed wooden barges, with the same cargo capacity, but built for calm canal service, would cost but one-fifth that figure. Besides, the insurance on the latter would be extremely low, instead of being almost prohibitive, as at present. The ocean barges are often wrecked, and a single storm sometimes entails the loss of an entire season's profit. The question that Boston and every other American city adjacent to the great system should ask is, How quickly can we establish the needed inland waterway traffic of America? and not, How much will it cost to do so?

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Sometimes we can best understand the possibilities of our own country by studying what others have accomplished. If what I have said and am about to state may appear visionary, I would refer you to much-maligned Russia. I have seen steel barges in Siberia, that travel thousands of miles into the interior of the country, carry tons of American railway material and equipment for the building of the Trans-Siberian and Manchurian railways. In fact, hundreds of miles of this latter road have been built entirely of American material, carried inland by barges to cities along the line of the railway under construction. In Russia proper the Government manages its canals and waterways in connection with its railways. They are built to feed and aid each other. All the chief rivers of Russia have been connected by canals, so that even now large freight barges and small steam craft can sail from St. Petersburg or Moscow to Archangel on the Arctic Ocean, Astrakan on the Caspian, Odessa on the Black Sea, or to the foot of the Urals. A canal is to be cut across these low hills to a branch of the Obi; so that, by following the already existing waterways across Siberia, boats may navigate continuously from St. Petersburg for more than 4,000 miles across Europe and Asia, beyond Lake Baikal, in fact to the very boundary line of China. A ship canal from Riga, on the Baltic, to Odessa, on the Black Sea, is contemplated. A ship canal connecting the Black and Caspian seas has been surveyed; and Russian engineers declare feasible the proposed plan of turning the waters of the Amu Daria back into its old bed, so that it will once more flow into the Caspian Sea, bringing in time Russia and Siberia into direct steamboat communication with central Asia and Afghanistan.

New York and many inland cities often urge the establishment of a trans-Atlantic steamship harbor at the Atlantic end of Long Island, so that the trip across the ocean may be shortened by several hours. The project fails of success, however, because the barges of coal, wheat, and other products of the North, South, and West transship their cargoes in New York Harbor. When they can be towed direct to Boston, doubtless the trans-Atlantic record-breaking runs will be no longer from Sandy Hook, but from Boston Light to Queenstown and Southampton; for the Hub City is already aroused to the necessity of dredging out her harbor, and, it is expected, will soon have deep water there.

Great as is the traffic on our 200,000 miles of railway, it is but twice as great per ton-mile as that of our waterways, including the Great Lakes. Our railway system is all but complete; our ship canal building has just commenced; yet great barges carrying grain enough to load an entire freight train have already begun to appear in certain sec-

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tions, increasing greatly the business of the railways wherever their influence is felt, as the increased traffic they create builds up section after section of country. In fact, it is hard to conceive of the value of some of our smallest waterways, even, in building up the internal commerce of the nation.

The United States annually exports to foreign countries about 21,000,000 tons of domestic merchandise, valued at more than $1,200,000,000; but, vast as this tonnage may seem, it is less in amount than the traffic passing during eight months of every year through the Detroit River. It is far less than the tonnage borne on the waters of the Mississippi Valley; it is scarcely half the estimated tonnage of the Hudson; about twice as much as that passing through the Harlem River or Kill von Kull; and not three times that of the Monongahela, a slack-water stream flowing among the mountains of Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Great as are the proportions to which our foreign commerce has grown, being second in volume to that of England only, it is but as a drop in the bucket when compared with the wonderful development of our river traffic, to say nothing of the commerce of our coast and that of the Great Lakes, both of which exceed in tonnage several times the amount of our foreign trade. In fact, it is estimated that the volume of our foreign exports and imports amounts to but five per cent of the total of our interstate commerce.

No other country in the world has so much wealth to exchange as ours. No other country has so neglected its waterways; and yet on our 18,000 miles of navigable rivers we carry more produce than does all Continental Europe on her 80,000 miles of perfected waterways, on the improvement of which she has spent billions. But four of our States — Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah — and the Territory of New Mexico, are devoid of navigable streams. In these States every stream is utilized for irrigating purposes, just as in New England every available rivulet is dammed up to make mill-ponds and provide water-power, and as in New York State the rivers are deflected to become feeders to canals.

New England has ever been backward in developing her rivers as a means of transporting her products. While Fulton was running the Clermont regularly up the Hudson, in 1807, New England was building fleet clippers to outstrip any steam vessel it was then possible to construct, and it was nearly two decades later, in 1823, that the first steamboat was seen on Maine waters. By that time there were nearly one hundred steamboats plying the rivers of the Mississippi Valley, over

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fifty on the Atlantic coast south of Boston, and Pittsburg was building steamers to carry her products 4,300 miles by river to the foothills of Western Montana, a distance greater than that traversed by ships sailing from New York to St. Petersburg — as far as from Seattle across the Pacific Ocean to Japan. And from 1811, when Fulton built the first steamboat to navigate the Ohio, to the present day, the larger cities on the banks of the Ohio have held their predominance as builders of river barges and steamboats; just as now the greatest steamboats and ocean steamships are built on the Delaware and on the waters of Long Island Sound, instead of in isolated Boston Harbor.

Incomplete Government reports place the annual traffic of the rivers of America at something over 110,000,000 tons. It is, however, certainly more than that figure. The total freight traffic of the Great Lakes amounts to 124,000,000 tons; but as all of this leaves one lake port to enter another, the figures are divided by two, giving the traffic on the lakes 62,000,000 tons. The river traffic, however, goes largely to, and comes from, the harbors of the sea coast, so that the same rule cannot be applied. Probably 100,000,000 tons would be a fair estimate of the tonnage of our rivers, exclusive of the coast harbors and inland waterways which are arms of the ocean. The average distance travelled by freight on the lakes is 841 miles; on the rivers probably not very much more than 150; so that the mile tonnage borne on the rivers is probably one-fourth that of the Great Lakes. The mile tonnage of the Great Lakes amounts to forty per cent of the total mile tonnage carried on the railways; that of the rivers foots up another ten per cent; so that on the inland waterways of America, exclusive of harbors, bays, and salt-water sounds, is borne fully fifty per cent of our inland commerce.

So far the Government has been as lavish in its donation to railways as it has been in its appropriations for the improvement of our rivers, with the difference that it owns the waterways and does not possess a single line of connecting railway. Almost every navigable river in America is paralleled by railway lines; yet, our rivers do not only hold their own, but for the last decade their traffic has shown a marked increase. The railroads of Long Island and southern New England, from fighting steamboat competition have taken to the water; and they find it to their interest to increase the fleet of Sound steamers, both in number and magnificence.

The Hudson River cannot be approached on either bank, from New York to Troy, without crossing one or more railroad tracks; yet the traffic on the waters of this river exceeds that of the entire system of the Mis-

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sissippi Valley. The railroads have built numberless cities, and so has river traffic. Each benefits by competition with the other. It is impossible to state accurately the amount of tonnage brought down the lower Hudson by the fleets of schooners and barges plying between New York city and the brick-yards of Haverstraw and the coal termini at Newburg and other points. But the Government engineers estimate the local traffic between Coxsackie and Troy at 4,000,000 tons annually, and that of the through traffic from Albany to New York at 10,000,000 tons. These amounts possibly cover less than half the total traffic on the river, which some authorities place as high as 40,000,000 tons per annum.

The Middle States, settled by the canal-building Dutch, and the present eastern terminals of the waterway system still control fully one-half of the river traffic of America; the Hudson, Harlem, Kill von Kull, and Delaware swelling the total to an enormous figure. While fully 75,000,000 tons are moved both ways on these waters annually, the rivers of New England do not carry 5,000,000 tons, and the fresh waterways of the South, from Virginia to Alabama, carry a scant 10,000,000, or about the average increase of the Mississippi Valley for a single decade.

The six-foot deep Erie Canal, besides saving shippers from the West in the way of freight rates more than a quarter of a billion dollars in the last half century, has made New York the richest State in the Union, and yearly adds to her wealth, so that she can afford to pay all expenses for its repairs and make all traffic free. When the canal is deepened it is to the interest of Boston and Chicago, as much as to that of New York, that traffic thereon shall be rapid and unrestrained. Lockage dues and the many bridges prevent the success of the Manchester Ship Canal. In America every railway and high-road should be compelled to follow a custom I have often observed in Japan. There the roads go under the river, so that the traffic of neither is interfered with for a moment, day or night.

Dixie is at last beginning to contest for rivalry with New England. She wants to get a closer grip, and is working her way up — by water. In the South the removal of obstructions from the various river beds has tended to enlarge the fresh-water traffic; and, now that the inland sounds along the coast are being connected, a constantly increasing barge traffic is springing up. But it is in the Valley of the Mississippi that the great volume of inland traffic will continue to increase for decades to come. Already 35,000,000 people, just half our population, live in that great valley, and a constant stream of immigration is still pouring westward over the Alleghanies. The future of America belongs to that great sec-

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tion. The Mississippi has forty-four navigable tributaries, in all over 16,000 miles of navigable waterways, to which the Government adds every five years, by dredging and improvements, an additional 1,000 miles. The waters of the Great Lakes now empty into the Father of Waters, as well as into the Hudson and the St. Lawrence. In time ships will pass from St. Louis to Chicago and on to New York, continuing thence to Boston, if she wills it so. But Boston is not to destroy all rivalries by digging her canal. The two billions and a half bushels of grain raised annually in the Mississippi Valley are beginning to seek more and more a Southern outlet; but, of course, no one can foretell what would be the result if by way of the Ohio River, the Pittsburg Ship Canal, and the Potomac River, or by way of the Pittsburg and Erie ship canals, this immense crop, or even a part of it, could reach the northern Atlantic coast, so much nearer the European markets than New Orleans. New Orleans and Boston may yet come into competition as rival ports.

The South Atlantic States, aroused by a prospect of their seaports being brought into river and canal communication with the Great Lakes, have had their representatives introduce in Congress numerous bills looking to the construction of a series of canalways to connect the navigable waters of the Tennessee River with those of the Alabama, Chattahoochee, and Altamaha; thus bringing Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston into open rivalry with those cities of the North which are aiming at becoming coast terminals of the great proposed inland system of waterways. In fact, in the South some work has already been actually accomplished on the proposed system of canals, and it is expected that the proposition to cut a ship canal across Florida from Jacksonville to the Suwannee River will be carried into effect as soon as the Nicaragua Canal is built.

Once the Nicaragua Canal is completed, the teeming millions of China, who have at last become acquainted with, and are learning to buy in immense quantities, our wheat flour and corn meal, will be brought much nearer to New Orleans and the South than to New York or Boston. Asia is the market of the future for American products; and at the mouth of the Mississippi will gather the thousands of barges and steamboats that bring down the produce from an area as vast as that of the Valley of the Yangtse Kiang, and more fertile by far. As the trade of America with Asia grows, with the completion of the Nicaragua Canal, it will be diverted westward. Nor is this all that need be feared by the East, for, as the Nicaragua Canal will open up new opportunities for the South and West, the completion of the improvements in the Nelson

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River, contemplated by the Canadian Government, will tend to divert the products of the northern Lake region toward that outlet.

Long Island Sound and Duluth are already connected by inland waterways which must in time be extended a few miles farther to the Red River of the North and Lake Winnipeg. From Winnipeg to Hudson Bay is less than 700 miles; the Nelson River, a magnificent waterway, extends the entire distance; at a comparatively small cost to the Canadian Government this stream can be made safe for river steamers of the largest tonnage. At present dangerous rapids in the Red River interrupt traffic between Winnipeg and the lake of that name, while some dredging will yet have to be done in the Nelson River. To the credit of the United States Government it may be stated that the portion of the Red River of the North in her territory has been made navigable to steamers for hundreds of miles; and when Canada has completed her part of the work, Liverpool will be brought into direct water communication with the Red River Valley, which raises half a billion bushels of grain any good season. But, fortunately for the commerce of American seaports, Hudson Bay is closed to navigation for a greater part of the grain-moving season.

The distance from Minnesota or the Dakotas to Liverpool by this new all-water route is 3,600 miles, as against about 4,300 miles by rail and water via Boston or New York, as at present. The great saving in cost of transportation, probably fifty per cent, would certainly divert toward the new route much of the traffic of the Northwest during the six months of the year that the Hudson Bay route remains open; and now that ice-breaking boats have demonstrated their ability to keep clear open channels in Arctic waters during the coldest months of winter, the twentieth century will doubtless see a new era of navigation open up from the Ohio to the Yukon.

Although our Government spends more than twenty million dollars annually on the improvement of our rivers, this is but a tithe of what any European nation would devote to the development of such a magnificent system of inland waterways. Every energy of the greatest engineers would be expended on devising means to add an additional inch to the depth of the channels or another mile to the total of the navigable waters. The system in vogue in America of doling out appropriations in driblets, so that often the work accomplished falls into decay long before the next appropriation is available, and has to be done all over again, would bankrupt any other country.

There is one great danger to our waterways which we absolutely ignore. In every other civilized country, and even in India, where there

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are as many miles of artificial as natural waterways, the most stringent laws are made and enforced against the denuding of the forest lands. In America, the work of years and the expenditure of millions are often rendered of no value because the country surrounding the newly dredged stream is deforested as fast as the improvements are made, with the result that the waters, no longer held back by the soft soil and the roots of the trees, rush down the denuded hillsides, swelling the stream into a raging torrent which overflows the banks, doing incalculable damage, then swiftly subside, leaving the bed of the river all but exposed. No longer do trickling springs percolate through the shaded soil, to feed the river in summer and fall, when water is most needed for floating down the harvest products; so that only too frequently the Government reports tell of deepened channels and decreased traffic.

New England was the first section to feel the effects of the deforestry of a magnificent area of timber land. Rivers that fifty years ago carried, summer and winter, a steady stream, sufficient to turn many mill-wheels, now race fiercely after every rain, and then dry up almost completely. In the Mississippi Valley the devastating spring freshets are now expected as a matter of course, while in summer time the dredges are kept busily at work digging channels in the shallow bed of the stream. Every year the work of the Government in keeping a channel open is made more difficult; the headwaters of the numerous tributaries of the Mississippi being denuded of their forests. Few realize the enormous quantity of timber that is floated down such rivers as the St. Croix, the Arkansas, the Missouri, and other Western streams. It amounts to many millions of tons annually. Not only is the large timber cut, but every stick of spruce and soft wood is gathered for the paper mills.

The denuding of our forests has reached such an extent that even the smallest trees are sacrificed for the benefit of the press. It is estimated by the large paper mills that the quantity of wood pulp in the entire United States will supply the demand for the next six years only; and the mill owners are now looking about for a substitute. The enormous quantity of this small timber used for paper-making may be faintly imagined when it is stated that there are daily newspapers in Boston and Chicago which devour every morning ten to twelve acres of spruce trees, and that in New York there is one paper at least which consumes sixteen acres every twenty-four hours.

In the deforested portions of the West the soil is a clay loam. Deprived of shade, it quickly bakes in the sun. Over this hard crust the water rushes in torrents without ever penetrating the soil; or on the great

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level plains it lies in shallow lakes to be quickly evaporated by the sun. The small rivulets which were once fed continually are now dried up, and the larger streams run dry in summer; yet, in spite of all this, if the waters which now flow in the Mississippi were confined to a narrow channel, there would be a sufficient depth, even in the dryest summer, for all the purposes of navigation. More important than all appropriations for river and harbor improvements is the need of proper forestry laws. The reforestry of the denuded lands should be the first step toward the development of our rivers as channels of interstate traffic. Even in certain parts of Africa it is a penal offense to cut certain trees without planting many others to replace them. In years to come, doubtless, the growing of forest trees will become as much an industry in America as raising wheat. A few of our Government millions appropriated for the replanting of our wasted forest lands would in time yield a much greater commercial return to the whole country.

The wealth of nations has always arranged itself along the line of important waterways. Pittsburg, at the head of the Ohio River, was the point from which, a hundred years ago, Eastern emigrants to the Mississippi Valley floated down the great river. It has ever since held its place as the greatest shipping-point west of Philadelphia; over 9,000,000 tons of merchandise, coal, and iron ore being landed at its wharves every year, from the Ohio, Allegheny, and Monongahela rivers. What will be the increase of traffic when the proposed ship canal to Lake Erie is completed it is impossible to estimate; for not only Pittsburg, but the whole Mississippi Valley, will benefit by this extension of its commerce into a new realm. Half a century ago is alluded to as the period of "flush times" on the Ohio and Mississippi; yet the traffic on these streams is greater in tonnage to-day than ever before. Over a thousand steamboats still navigate the waters of these great rivers; but the steel barge, which has replaced the flat boat and wooden junk, has revolutionized the traffic on our Western waters. A single powerful steamer will now leave Pittsburg for New Orleans with thirty-two barges in tow, freighted with 600,000 bushels of coal, making a trip in fifteen days that would take a hundred freight trains of sixteen cars each all summer to accomplish. In addition, the saving in freight is fully $160,000, as the cost of transportation per bushel by water is but three cents.

The first steamer to navigate the upper Mississippi reached the present site of St. Paul in 1813, before the first Boston steamer found its way to the waters of Maine. A little later, hundreds of boats began to arrive every summer, and the twin cities were founded. St. Paul is not

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to remain much longer the head of steamboat navigation, as the Government is rapidly improving the stream above the Falls of St. Anthony. In time the improvements that will permit steamers to pass St. Paul and proceed to Minneapolis will include a system of canals around the falls; so that several hundred miles of continuous river navigation will be added to the possibilities of the Mississippi. Immense temporary dams, which are to be replaced by permanent masonry, now hold back the waters of the upper Mississippi, so confining them that they will fill the great lakes of central Minnesota. From these immense reservoirs there proceeds in summer a steady, regulated flow of water, which greatly improves navigation, the beneficial effects being felt even below St. Paul. Thus, in a way, are some of the evil effects of deforestry partially overcome.

Some idea of the importance of these upper waters of the Mississippi may be gathered when it is learned that such branches as the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers send down annually to the Mississippi proper from one to two million tons of logs, besides doing a large passenger business on the steamers that ply up and down the improved channels. When the lands which are being cleared of lumber are planted in grain and produce, the traffic of the Illinois River will be duplicated.

The Mississippi between St. Paul and the Missouri, a distance of about 700 miles, is still a cause of constant annoyance. For four months of the year the river is closed to navigation, on account of ice; for another four months, beginning in August, low water predominates, and, but for the incessant work of the powerful government dredges, navigation would come to a standstill. At Keokuk and at Rock Island the river flows over a bed of solid rock, which at low stages is covered by but two feet of water. At Rock Island the Government has removed enough rock to give a serviceable channel, and at Keokuk a three-lock canal has been built.

In spite of these many drawbacks to navigation, about 3,000,000 tons of freight and many thousand passengers pass up and down the river each year between the mouth of the Missouri and St. Paul. The problem of permanently improving the channel of the Mississippi has proved one of the most vexing ones that the engineers and Congress have ever had to deal with. For many years, steamboat owners, at their own expense, kept scrapers at work on the upper river, removing the bars formed by spring freshets, bars left almost exposed at low water. The Government also adopted the scraping system. By this method bars were deepened from eight to eighteen inches in a few hours, so that large steamers could ascend the river to St. Paul; but as it cost $20,000 a

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season for each scraper in service, the Government decided to experiment with plans for securing a permanent channel, and is still doing so.

A system of dykes and jetties was begun, with the object in view of concentrating the stream; but the work was so slow and the clamor of the steamboat men, who saw their business dwindling to nothing, so great, that the system of scraping and dredging was again resorted to as an indefinite expedient. It was suggested in Congress that a prize of $100,000 be offered for the most successful plan that would be submitted for keeping open a permanent channel in the river. In fact, one Congressional Committee went so far as to spend $40,000 on a chimerical invention which proposed, by means of a great perforated iron pipe laid in the bed of the river, to maintain a channel. Water was to be pumped into the pipe every hundred miles. The water was to be forced through the perforations and thus stir up the sand and keep it in suspension, while the current was to do the rest. The plan was never put into operation.

Another inventor offered to provide a ten-foot channel the year round, between St. Louis and Cairo, by means of an immense steel boat with great wings of the same metal. The current was to force the boat through the bars by cutting the sand about the wings. Torpedoes were tried, but unsuccessfully; and then hydraulic water jets for keeping the sand in constant motion were experimented with, and this method promised to supersede the ordinary dredge system. All possible devices, from temporary canvas jetties to permanent canal locks, are now in operation at various places from northern Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico.

Were it not for the fact that the Missouri spreads itself over so great a width, washing away miles of its prairie banks annually, and thus shoaling its bed, doubtless this river system, with its 3,000 miles of navigable waterway, would have been utilized, almost to the same extent as the upper Mississippi has been, in developing tributary country. As it was, far back in the early part of the century, the American Fur Company sent its steamers up into Montana in search of pelts. At present it is possible to travel by steamer away up in the mountain region, in the valley near Helena, the capital of Montana. At Great Falls a system of canals will doubtless some day connect the navigable portion of the upper with the lower river; for from Fort Benton to New Orleans it is already possible for steamers to navigate, and every year the Government is improving conditions. In fact, during the decade just ended steamboat traffic on the upper waters of the Missouri has been more than doubled; while its most rapid tributary, the Yellowstone, has been so improved that steamers now ply its waters regularly.

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Important as is the part that this great stream must some day play in the development of the Northwest, by determining freight rates for a country large enough to form an empire, it is still a distant second to the less mighty Arkansas system. Over half a million people in Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Kansas are in a measure dependent on the 2,500 miles of navigable waterways flowing through the State of Arkansas to the Mississippi River. Millions of tons of freight find their way up and down these rivers; and new sections are being opened up continually, as the Government makes other tributary streams navigable. Whole counties depend entirely on this system of waterways for communication with the outer world.

Even in this age of railways the real value of our rivers has not abated one jot. In fact, the development brought about by the railways is making our waterways more and more a source of wealth to the country at large. The railways have compelled the steamboats and barges to reduce their freight rates to a minimum, with the result that new industries are opening up in what have been hitherto considered backwoods districts. A dozen rivers with names unfamiliar to most readers, flowing through Kentucky, Tennessee, and some of our Western States, now accommodate a traffic of over a million tons each.

Ten years ago, the tonnage floated on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley was estimated at 29,000,000 tons, an increase of 10,000,000 tons over the traffic of ten years earlier. Because Congress, although appropriating millions each session for the improvement of our rivers, fails to say that boatmen shall report the tonnage carried in their vessels on inland waters, it is impossible accurately to estimate the annual tonnage borne on our streams. However, it is very certain that the traffic of the rivers of the Mississippi Valley at present exceeds a total of 35,000,000 tons, probably approaching more nearly the 40,000,000 mark. What it will amount to at the close of another decade will depend largely upon the completion of the Nicaragua Canal, the deepening of the Illinois River to the Chicago canal, and the amount Congress appropriates for the extension of the work of improvement, now just fairly begun, on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley. This system of waterways seems destined to be by far the most important in America, once it is properly connected with the waterways of the East. Presidents and statesmen have over and over again impressed upon our short-sighted Congressmen the wisdom of making appropriations commensurate with the immensity of the advantages to accrue from the improvement of the Mississippi and its branches; but the sum thus far expended on such betterments, while

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exceeding $100,000,000, is nevertheless ridiculously small as compared with what European countries, although groaning under the expense of maintaining immense standing armies, have spent on the extension of their inland roadsteads.

Thanks to the fifty-odd millions Canada has spent in making the St. Lawrence navigable to vessels drawing fourteen feet of water, our Lake cities are now building ocean steamers to ply between Duluth, Chicago, Buffalo, and Liverpool; while the traffic in American vessels on the St. Lawrence, now estimated at 2,000,000 tons, promises to take a sudden leap that will astonish the world. But after all, Canada will probably be the great gainer. Such a channel from Chicago to New Orleans would not only develop new cities all along the Mississippi, but would tend to divert South American traffic from Europe to the United States, where it logically belongs, and to open up a new line of communication with South Africa, where our rapidly increasing trade is already causing English merchants and manufacturers much uneasiness.

Unfortunately for the South Pacific coast, there are no great waterways flowing from the interior to the ocean; so that freight rates are abnormally high. Even Oregon and Washington are deprived of the greater portion of the benefits which should be theirs from the possession of such a mighty stream as the Columbia, second only in volume of water to the Mississippi; for although it is navigable for more than 1,000 miles, 200 miles from the mouth are to be found the Dalles, or rapids, which totally obstruct navigation.

The Government has spent a considerable amount in securing rights of way for a ship railway around these rapids; but engineers now advise a system of canals and locks, such as would pass the largest steamboats. This would open up a vast wheat-growing country not yet penetrated by railroads. Most of the grain grown in this region is shipped to Asia and Europe. A continuous waterway from the lakes of northern Idaho to Portland, the shipping port of that section, could not fail to add greatly to the productive wealth of the entire Northwest. The traffic on the lower Columbia and the Willamette rivers is still less than 2,000,000 tons per annum; the Dalles almost completely shutting off the lower river from the products of the interior. A somewhat larger traffic is done on Puget Sound and on the rivers emptying into it; but with the rapidly increasing trade of America with Asia, every thing should be put in readiness for the enormous traffic that must begin to pass over these waters of the West before many more years have gone by. Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco are cities that will some day be as important to the

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West and to Asia, as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are to-day to the East and to all Europe. The completion of the Nicaragua Canal will bring the rivers of the two coasts of America many thousands of miles nearer together. The 400 miles of navigable rivers in California, flowing into San Francisco Bay, will doubtless eventually carry as great a volume of traffic as does the Hudson.

Sometimes we seek afar off what we should look for near our home. That is just what we are doing at present; for all the wealth of the Philippines and all the trade we can ever hope to have with the Indies will never equal in value or amount what we have along the banks of our rivers ready to be floated from place to place within our own country, enriching section after section of our land as it passes in transition from raw material to manufactured article and finished product, ready again for distribution. The most successful colonizing country of the world to-day is Holland. It may be a mere coincidence, but it is nevertheless a fact well worthy of consideration, that this little country has spent far more money in improving her means of inland water communication than she has on her colonies; and the canals bring her a greater return in the end. So far the Philippines have cost us over $100,000,000. Such an amount spent on our rivers every two years for a single generation would bring about a development of our agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing interests unparalleled in the industrial history of any country, to say nothing of the increase of traffic, foreign and domestic.

We cannot do better than China, an uncivilized nation that has solved the problem of supporting nearly half the population of the globe —a miracle impossible of performance had not the Government doubled the length of the navigable waterways by artificial methods. On these Chinese waterways, navigated only by junks, more tonnage is moved annually than on all other inland waters of the world. The canals and rivers bind the eighteen provinces of China together. These narrow bands of water have held them as one for a thousand years.

It might be well for us to accept the advice of John C. Calhoun, taking for a twentieth-century motto the words of the great nullifier, as embodied in Chicago's memorial to Congress concerning the building of her great ship canal: "Let us bind the Republic together, let us conquer space by a perfect system of roads and canals." If the general Government refuses to listen to that appeal to build a great system of interstate ship canals, the States might, with perfect safety, apply a little of Mr. Calhoun's States' right doctrine, and build it themselves.

ALEXANDER HUME FORD.

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THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE.

THE FORUM, I believe, owes to its readers some review of the admirable treatise by Mr. Frederick W. Holls,[1] one of the six American delegates at The Hague, who has given to us what will be a leading authority on the history of the great Peace Conference.

Mr. Irving said to me, not long before his death, that the rub-a-dub has much more interest for the average reader of history, and for the average writer of history, than do the years — much more important than battles — which go to the establishment of states and the advance of civilization.

This is true, it is too true. And, at the same time, it is true that the literature of International Law, which is, in practice, the history of advancing civilization, is shut off from the history of what are called events. The development of international intercourse, in commerce, in travel, and in social order, is described by one set of men in one set of books. And it is not handled, it is hardly attempted, by the writers who describe for us battles by land and sea, or who, perhaps, go so far afield as to tell us of the fall of a dynasty or the birth of an infant, if that infant happens to be born in the purple.

Now, this entire separation of the history of outside facts and the history of advancing civilization is a misfortune. It leaves the "average reader" quite in the dark as to most points on which he ought to know something if he would do his duty as a voter, as an educator of public opinion, or as a leader of society.

Meanwhile, there grow up, all the same, a class of men who do care to know what have been the real steps of advance. Outside such special matters as those to which the Congress at The Hague call our present attention, the battle of the Nile or the battle of Austerlitz has, in itself,

[1] "The Peace Conference at The Hague and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy," by Frederick W. Holls, D.C.L. "Justicia elevat gentem." New York: The Macmillan Company. "The International Court of Arbitration," by the same author. A paper read before the New York State Bar Association, January 15, 1901.

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no value, nor even interest, as a bit of history. The value or interest of such battles depends upon the social changes which followed from them, on the steps upward and forward which civilization has made because of them. Some men interest themselves in such steps in human society. They exist, perhaps, in quiet life in all civilized nations. In the nations most civilized there are the most of them.

The great Peace Conference at The Hague called to the front a hundred such men. Not one in ten of them is named in such books of fame as "Who's Who"; nor is one in ten of them ever mentioned, even by accident, by the "Associated Press," which is the "Herald King-at-Arms" of modern life. But they are men known in cabinets. They are advised with by princes, ministers, and secretaries of foreign affairs. They know something, and what they know can be anchored to, and this is more than you can say of most men. This is a condition of very great value as we watch the whirlpool of daily life, where a stray log pops up at one moment, and a man swimming for his life at another; and you want to have somebody at hand who can tell which is the man and which is the log.

Now, in the early months of 1899, nobody believed much in The Hague Conference; but, at the same time, no ruler meant to make a mistake about it. The responsible people, therefore, sent to it one hundred of the men who knew about treaties and international relations, and who had given them good advice in the last twenty, thirty, nay, fifty years — the best-informed hundred men, and, on the whole, the hundred men least prejudiced, who have ever sat down to one purpose since the world began.

Mr. Holls, who is more of an artist than he thinks he is, has, in his admirable history of the Conference, given us, almost without thinking of it, an excellent view of the place and its surroundings. Mr. Stead,[1] in his article in THE FORUM, has sketched some of the outlines. Everybody knows that The Hague is a very charming place. All the people there, including the members of the government, etc., were pleased that The Hague was, in a way, acknowledged as the centre of the civilized world; and so everybody honored himself and honored the Conference by the most assiduous hospitality.

"May decked the world, and Wilhelmina filled the throne."

The line limps a little as one substitutes for "Arthur" the pretty name of the young queen, but the interest and charm of her personality, at an

[1] See THE FORUM for September, 1899.

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era of her life so critical, will be an excuse for the halting prosody. It was on a perfect spring day that the Conference was opened, on the eighteenth of May. This day had been chosen because it was the birthday of Nicholas II, to whose initiative was due the agreement of twenty-six independent nations to meet for a purpose so important. At ten in the morning the Russian delegation, with the members of the Russian Legation, went in full uniform to the small chapel of the Greek Church, where a Te Deum was chanted. At two in the afternoon the Peace Conference was opened. This meeting and the subsequent meetings were held in the palace — which will now be more famous than ever — which is the summer palace of the Dutch royal family. It is about a mile from the city, in the beautiful park known as the Bosch. The "Huis ten Bosch," or House in the Wood, is its popular name. The finest of the magnificently decorated rooms of this palace is the Oranje Zaal, or ball-room. This was finished by Jordaens and other pupils of Rubens in 1647, in honor of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange. In this room the full Conference met.

Four rows of semi-circular tables, giving one hundred seats, had been arranged in the form of a parliamentary hall. The presiding officer's chair itself had been placed in the bay window. The seats were allotted in alphabetical order, in the French language. That Providence of which a Portuguese diplomatist once said that it takes equal care of drunkards, crazy people, and the United States had arranged that "Amerique" and "Allemagne" (Germany) should come at the top of the alphabet. So our six delegates "got the best," if we may use the fine national phrase, and shared with the German delegates the seats of honor, in the centre of the room, directly in front of the chair. There was very little room for spectators. But this made the less difference, because the sessions were all strictly private, excepting on occasions of ceremony.

As our readers know from Mr. Stead's article, before referred to, the work divided itself, of course, under three heads; and, in truth, three "conventions" followed from this subdivision, which are as distinct from one another as if they had been made by one conference at The Hague, another at Paris, and another at Geneva. But the general Conference had the good sense to accept, almost without alteration, these results of what may be called its sub-committees. In the same spirit Mr. Holls has subdivided his history into three parts. Not attempting a chronological order of work for the whole session of the Conference, he gives in his Chapter III the work of the first Committee, in Chapter IV the work of the second Committee, and in Chapter V the work of the third Commit-

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tee, which includes the establishment of the Commissions of Inquiry and Arbitration, and what was done in the way of "good offices" and "mediation." This last has probably the most general interest, and may be called, indeed, the most important subdivision. But Committees Number I and Number II have made advances in the international system of the world which are truly important, and which would always be called so were they not in a way overshadowed by the establishment of the High Court of Nations, by Committee Number III.

Committee Number I was called in convention the "Disarmament Committee"; and in general conversation among persons who know little about the Conference, and among those who wish to discredit it, the Conference is generally called the "Disarmament Conference." This is a pity, seeing that the word disarmament does not appear in its proceedings from the beginning until the end. But in the original circular of Emperor Nicholas, dated August 24, 1898, the very first lines spoke of a "possible reduction of excessive armament." In the English Ambassador's despatch of the next day, he said distinctly that Count Mouravieff had said that the Emperor "did not invite a general disarmament."

But, all the same, all that class of people who like to say that a new thing is impossible seized on the words "reduction of armaments," for the purpose of showing that the Emperor's scheme was purely Utopian. Baron Staal, in one of his opening speeches, referred to the false impression which had thus been given. Confessing that the Conference could in no way interfere with the independent acts of sovereign states, he did say: "This is the place to ask whether the welfare of peoples does not demand a limitation of progressive armaments." "The welfare of peoples" is a fine phrase taken from the end of Baron Mouravieff's first circular.

With the absolute avowal by the representatives of the Tsar, and by other leading powers, that no one proposed any plan for diminishing the existing military force of any nation, or, indeed, for interfering in any way with its sovereignty, it might have been supposed that the First Committee, so called, had lost the reason of its existence. But there were, in fact, referred to it three clauses of Count Mouravieff's second circular, treating of the "Humanizing of War"; and the results of its discussions on this subject appear in what is known as "the Convention regarding the Laws and Customs of War by Land." Recognizing as a part of international law the Geneva Convention, it consists of sixty articles, and may be considered as the Code of the Laws of War as they now exist among the nations which agree to this "Convention." The general subjects, under the head "Belligerents," are:

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On the Qualifications of Belligerents,
On Prisoners of War,
On the Sick and Wounded.

Under the head "Hostilities," seven articles treat of the Means of Injuring the Enemy, of Sieges, and of Bombardments, and three treat of Spies. The third chapter covers Flags of Truce; the fourth, Capitulations; the fifth, Armistices.

A separate section regulates Military Authority in Hostile Territory. One short article, No. 47, worth remembering just now, is entitled, "Pillage is absolutely prohibited." The fourth general section regulates the Detention of Belligerents and the Care of the Wounded in Neutral Countries.

It has been well said that if The Hague Conference had done nothing but to place these rules intelligently on paper, and to secure for them the assent of a considerable number of civilized powers, it would have fully justified its existence. In fact, however, the importance of these rules seems so overshadowed by the great "Convention" which creates the High Court of Nations, that they have been generally overlooked in the estimate made of the value of the Conference to mankind.

To this "Convention" there are added two "Conventions," or agreements, binding on such powers only as assent to them. The first prohibits for five years the launching, in war-time, of projectiles or explosives from balloons; and in the second, the powers agreeing to it promise to abstain from the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body. This is the "dum-dum bullet" question, of which it may be safely said that the man who rushes into it hastily, who is not an expert, is certainly a fool. This is sure, that angels would be very cautious in undertaking its discussion without scientific preparation.

These determinations alone, as has been said, would have given the "Conference of the One Hundred" a distinguished place in history. But its crowning work, that which gives to it its name, is the first agreement, or "Convention," that which establishes a High Court of Nations. The title to the first article in this "Convention" expresses the central reason for the existence of the Conference. It is on the maintenance of a general peace.

It is now generally known that the initiative in the assembly of the measures which have proved so important is due to the resolute union of England and America. The Russian Emperor may well have been discouraged by the halting interest which the rest of the civilized world had taken in his original proposal. It had even been bitterly assailed

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in its weakest points; it was in England and America only that it found full sympathy in its great central purpose. It should never be forgotten that Lord Salisbury's formal reply to Count Mouravieff's first circular contains the most cordial expression of the resolution of the Queen's government to join in any practical endeavor for the maintenance of peace. And, at this moment, it is impossible to forget that in this greatest matter of all, his great sovereign had in every way expressed her sympathy in a purpose so worthy of an empress and of a woman. That it was possible for nations to create a court supreme enough to hear and to decide on such questions as diplomacy of the feudal patterns cannot settle — this had been asserted in the Salisbury-Olney treaty, which will not soon be forgotten. Its details were not perhaps fit for all purposes. When, indeed, does the first model of a new invention answer all the requisites of experiment? But it had said that a High Court was possible.

In America there was — and for generations had been — a strong popular undercurrent in the same direction. War is an incident to us, and not a permanent occupation. This is the ground theory of the American people. When it is time to fight, they must all fight; when that time is over, they must all go to work in peaceful industries. That is their practice. It is not perhaps enough remembered that Charles I had no standing army, that Charles II and James II had to raise the greater part of their forces for the special purposes of this or that occasion; and that what we should now call a Standing Army had no existence in England until William III's reign, and then was introduced only on a moderate scale, and with the stimulus of the great Continental Wars.

To the colonists in America, therefore, from 1607 to 1770, the sight of a soldier in the streets, in time of peace — except on the few armed days of parade of the "train-band" — was unknown. When the train-bands were exercised everybody was a soldier for the moment. As soon as he put back "his Queen's arm" into the closet, where, be it observed, he kept it himself, he ceased to be a soldier; and there were no soldiers until the Indians, the Jesuits, or the French brought about a state of war. Just as every farmer had a workshop in which he could make a hoe-handle or mend an ox-yoke, every farmer had a gun and a powder-horn. But, precisely because he had these, the farmer did not create an organized proxy of soldiers to do his fighting.

Accordingly, the Declaration of Independence rightly charges George III with an innovation, when it says he has introduced "standing armies" into the colonies. And, in historical fact, nothing excited and irritated

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the colonists so much as to see "the lobsters," as they called the red-coats, loafing in the streets, or playing skittles or bowls, or drinking in the shops, when there was no war. When war came every American had to shoulder his firelock. Chastellux said, in 1781, that between Rhode Island and Virginia, in the new States of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, he never saw a man of the military age who had not served in the ranks against the King. But with peace this man forgot that he had been a soldier. There is a fine story of the Connecticut blacksmith, who, when he shod Rochambeau's horse, inquired of the rider what he did "when he was to hum."

Peace, and permanent peace, is the cry of the American people. It is not simply their dream; it is their expectation. And they had so far had their own way that in 117 years since their independence, they had had but four years' war with foreign nations, while under the flag of Great Britain, in the century before their independence, they had been at war nearly half the time. For 111 years, when The Hague Conference met, they had had a Supreme Court which had power to settle all questions but one between forty-five States which it united. That great exception had cost them four years of civil war. This people, of Teutonic origin, with such a history and such prejudices, believes in an accord of nations, and that a permanent tribunal is possible, which can inquire into their quarrels, and can pronounce judgment upon them before they begin to fight with each other. To the American citizen such a belief is not a matter of dream or of theory. It represents a visible business in his daily life. Thus, the boundary questions between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, between Missouri and Iowa, which anywhere else would have been settled by war, have been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. It may well be that half the citizens of those four States do not know, at this moment, that there were ever such questions.

There are some illustrations, fairly amusing, of the readiness with which the American people expressed its wish in this business. Thus, on the Sunday which followed the 24th of August, the date of the Emperor's original rescript of peace, the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, voted to send a letter to the Emperor of Russia, to tell him that it approved of his plans, and would assist in carrying them out. We cannot conceive of a more democratic constituency in the world than that which thus addresses, on equal terms, the Autocrat who commands the largest army in the world. In this case the Emperor at once directed a courteous reply.

The Administration at Washington fully comprehended the demand

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for permanent peace, thus deeply seated. The appointment of delegates was admirable. Besides Mr. Newel, our representative minister in Holland, Captain Mahan represented the Navy, Captain Crozier the Army, and Mr. Andrew D. White, Mr. Seth Low, and Mr. Frederick W. Holls represented Peace; and this meant a permanent tribunal. This goes vastly further than any vague, or rather, spongy, agreement, like that of the Pan-American Congress, to refer to "Arbitration" any unsolved questions. It establishes the High Court before which each case shall be tried; and it squarely promises that, when it is possible, each case shall be submitted.

The Government did not fail to let it be understood that this was the great thing it cared for. Yes! we should be glad to have private property exempt from capture at sea. Yes! we shall vote for any thing which will humanize war. But, first, second, and last, we are going to The Hague for a "permanent tribunal." That we mean to have. Give us that, and you can postpone "to a more convenient season" every thing else which you cannot settle.

It will prove that our diplomatic agents made the Powers understand, in unofficial conversation, as in official documents, that this was what we stood for: the High Court of Nations. And, to use the vernacular again, we were not "sot" as to the method. The New York Bar had proposed six judges in the High Court, with assessors to be appointed by the smaller states. For England and America, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney had suggested seven or nine judges. But from first to last our representatives showed a catholic disposition; and, so we could get the substance, which is "a permanent tribunal," the nations might arrange the details much as the Continental jurists thought best. The result seems to have been studied from the constitution of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. That is to say, the Supreme Tribunal consists of a "panel," so to speak, of eighty or more jurists, appointed by the twenty-six nations. And from this "panel" a special court of five, seven, nine, or eleven is summoned, as each separate case may require. No nation may name more than four of the judges in the High Court. Two nations may agree on the same judge if they will. The members shall be appointed for a term of six years, and their appointment may be renewed. Whenever the Powers wish to resort to the Court, they may make a special arrangement for that occasion; or, if they make no special arrangement, each party shall name from the general list of the Court two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. The Court shall ordinarily sit at The Hague. The judges selected

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are to be of "recognized competence in questions of International Law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators." The appointments already made show that the Powers interested understand how to keep up to the high requisition.

Mr. Holls is at his very best — and that is saying a great deal — in his narrative of the work of the Third Committee, which had in hand the forging out, from the crude ore, the finished Treaty of Arbitration. He gives to it, as it deserves, a large part of his narrative. The work of the other two committees was, from its nature, technical, and to be wrought out by experts. "The task assigned to the Third Committee, on the other hand, was essentially diplomatic in its nature, touching the sovereignty of states most directly, and comprising possibilities of great and serious danger."

Of the discussion, the deliberation with which the result was wrought out, Mr. Holls gives a detailed narrative, with some mention of every important speech, and, in many instances, with reports of speeches, often from his own careful notes. To these speeches, even in their details, there attaches an unusual interest; for it must be remembered that here, for once, is a real deliberative assembly. Ten or twenty distinguished men came together with the simple determination to "get the best"; and one may fairly say that when they began no one of them was quite sure what that best was. But they meant to find out; they meant to impress their own convictions as well as they could. Here then is speaking for a purpose. There is the determination to convince, if possible; but all the same there is willingness to learn. There are ten or twenty persons who are to agree. And there is absolutely no line of cleavage between two or three different parties. In the debates of our own American Constitutional Convention you can trace such lines, but not here. No! Here are the "chief delegates" from each of twenty-six nations, with the occasional presence of honorary officers.

The discussion is serious, but sometimes it almost takes the form of animated conversation; sometimes it has all the dignity of a Supreme Court hearing an "opinion" from one of its members. Those members are, as has been intimated, men of distinguished ability and rare learning. They are of the class of men whom governments consult in difficult crises, more often perhaps than they call them into the class of daily service. They may not often appear before the foot-lights, but very likely there would be no drama if such men were not somewhere. Prince Münster, the senior delegate for Germany, was the only "chief delegate" who did not appear in form on this Committee, his advanced age being the only

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reason for this omission. "I have served the Emperor with my best ability," he said, somewhere in the course of the Conference, "for half a century."

The names best known to American readers are, perhaps, those of Mr. White, Mr. Low, and Mr. Holls, our own delegates, the Duke of Tetuan from Spain, Mr. Delyannis from Greece, MM. Staal and De Martens from Russia, Baron Bildt from Sweden, and Dr. Roth from Switzerland. This acquaintance with names, however, is rather a matter of accident. The names of Baron Hayashi from Japan, of Yang Yu, Lou-Tseng-Tsiang, and Hoo-Wei-Teh from China, Gen. Mirza Riza Khan from Persia, and M. Phya Suriya from Siam, are, naturally, not so familiar to us. Mexico was the only American country represented besides our own. Her delegates on this Committee were MM. Mier and Zenil.

The full Committee had nine meetings. At its first meeting it yielded to what seemed a necessity, and voted that its proceedings should be private. This decision brought down on the whole Conference the wrath of the leading journals of the world, in their sentence of disapproval, from which, perhaps, it has not yet recovered. But one has only to read the details of the proceedings to see that the world could not have obtained the great result it did obtain had not this decision been made at the beginning.

At the session of May 20, M. Bourgeois, the chairman, suggested that all propositions relating to good offices, arbitration and mediation, be referred to a Sub-Committee. This was done; and this Sub-Committee became really the body which drew up the important plans, first for Commissions of Inquiry, and, second, for the High Court of Arbitration.

I am sorry that it is impossible for me to attempt even the briefest sketch of the instructive debates on these two propositions. I must be satisfied with citing Mr. Holls's important statement regarding the first, that the institution of Commissions of Inquiry is quite likely to be of far greater practical importance than any other result of the Conference. M. Nelidoff described the provision for "Special Mediation" as the entrusting of the settlement of the affair in question to seconds on each side, who will act "according to instructions," and who will each defend the honor of his principal as he would his own. The parallel drawn by Mr. Holls between this provision and those successive steps by which private war has been abolished, or nearly abolished, is very curious. The article on Commissions of Inquiry, as it stands, reads:

"Article IX. In differences of an international nature, involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on matters of fact, the

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signatory powers recommend that parties who have not been able to come to an agreement by diplomatic methods, should, as far as circumstances allow, institute an International Commission of Inquiry, to facilitate a solution of the differences by elucidating the facts, by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation."

The provisions thus far described are contained in the first fourteen articles of the principal "Convention," called the "First Convention," in the official report. The remainder of the "First Convention," and that part by which, thus far, it is generally remembered, is contained in the elaborate articles on the High Court of Arbitration. It comprises all the remaining articles from the fifteenth to the sixty-first. It is of the system thus inaugurated, the "Magna Charta of Nations," as Mr. Holls calls it, that the late General Harrison spoke so well in his closing speech before the Venezuelan tribunal. He called The Hague Conference "one of the greatest assemblies of the nations which the world has yet seen." Addressing the President of the Venezuelan tribunal, M. de Martens, he says:

"There was nothing, Mr. President, in your proceedings at The Hague that so much attracted my approbation and interest as the proposition to constitute a Permanent Court of Arbitration. It seems to me that if this process of settling international differences is to commend itself to the nations, it can only hope to set up for the trial of such questions an absolutely impartial judicial tribunal."

This view, so simply stated by General Harrison, and presented at the very outset by the leading members of the Comité d'Examen, worked itself into the whole tissue of the great Arbitration Treaty. The High Court is not to inquire as to facts; it is a purely judicial tribunal, to receive the results of inquiry. It is not to compromise "by the rule of give and take"; it is to make judicial decisions regarding the substantiated facts. It holds to the object proposed by Lord Pauncefote in the beginning: "It is absolutely necessary to organize a Permanent International Tribunal, which can be called together immediately at the request of contending nations."

This proposal struck the key-note. The Russian proposal for a Permanent Court was introduced at once, then the British proposal and the American proposal. The British proposal became the basis of deliberation. M. Descamps suggested what seemed to him improvements, and it was then that Dr. Zorn presented the objections of the government of Germany. Here was the crisis of the Convention. A very important speech by Mr. Holls, and a very important visit made by him and Dr. Zorn to Berlin, removed the objections which had been so well stated by Dr. Zorn in his speech. One is disposed to read between the lines, and to guess that the opposition in Germany had not been an op-

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position to the principle of the Treaty, but had been cultivated, if we may say so, by the fears of the German lawyers as to the possible independence of the proposed court. The cordial agreement of the German Empire was secured so soon as it appeared certain that no one proposed compulsory arbitration.

As I have said, however, we must not even attempt the slightest sketch of the several debates. Enough to say that on July 29, the Treaty was signed by the representatives of sixteen Powers, and that it has since been signed and ratified by all the Powers represented.

Mr. Holls's chapter on "The Conference from Day to Day" is both entertaining and instructive. It throws many side-lights on what may be called the working methods of the high diplomacy. He preserves in a separate chapter the details of the dignified position of this country on the question of the seizure of private property on the seas. This is one of the great subjects reserved for future discussion.

Mr. Holls's closing chapter is of profound interest and importance. In twenty pages, quite too few, he states "the bearings of the Conference upon International Law and Policy." "The time had come to make the expression International Law a reality, instead of the cover for a miscellaneous collection of moral precepts and rules of intercourse." It is in this chapter that he uses that fine phrase, "The Magna Charta of International Law." He says truly:

> "A text-book of International Law, without a careful discussion of The Hague Treaty for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences, is hereafter quite as unthinkable as a history of English Constitutional Law containing no reference to Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights."

This masterly chapter should be studied not only in schools of law, but in all schools of the higher education. For we must all take care that the generation which created The Hague Conference shall comprehend its purpose, and know what are its achievements. Mr. Holls truly says that it is most encouraging that on the Continent of Europe the governments are in advance of public opinion on the entire subject. In this country we must all see to it that public opinion shall be thoroughly informed as to what has been done and as to what is still possible. For such a purpose we are already largely indebted to the distinguished members of the Conference making their reports each in his own way. This country and the world are very greatly indebted to Mr. Holls for the admirable narrative which we have severely condensed, which is destined to take an important place in the written history of the civilized world.

EDWARD E. HALE.

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PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

In view of the recent Prohibition excitement in Kansas, and, further, in view of the conflicting and false impressions which are current among the people of other States concerning the provisions of the Kansas prohibitory liquor law and the actual status of Prohibition in the State, it would seem that an impartial statement covering these important matters, by one who has been long on the ground and is familiar with the situation, would be timely and in order. The prohibitory amendment to our State constitution, adopted November, 1880, says: "The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be forever prohibited in this State, except for medical, mechanical, and scientific purposes." The legislation which has been enacted to carry the provisions of the amendment into effect limits the business of selling liquors, for the excepted purposes, exclusively to certain druggists, who must first procure permits to sell from the probate judge of the county; so that no person other than a druggist who holds a legal permit can lawfully sell any kind of intoxicating liquor in Kansas for any purpose whatever.

Such being our constitution and our laws relating to this matter, and these being twenty years old, or thereabouts, it is astounding to find, in "Harper's Weekly," for February 16, 1901, an editorial statement to the effect that the legislature, a few years ago, passed an act authorizing the sale of liquors on the semi-annual payment of stipulated fines. This is the "Weekly's" exact language:

> "The legal status of the Kansas saloons . . . is curious. A Prohibition amendment to the State's constitution was passed, but after the United States Supreme Court decided that no State could prohibit the admission of original packages of intoxicants into its borders, it was not difficult for Kansans who wanted liquor to get it. Presently so many saloons sprung up and flourished in the cities that the Legislature, repining at the loss of revenue from unlawful saloons which paid no license fees, provided, in 1893, that the illegal saloons which complied with certain prescribed regulations, should be free from interference, except that twice a year their owners should be arrested and fined. That gave Kansas practically a license system. The constitution contains a Prohibition amendment which the Legislature has bound itself not to enforce against saloons that comply with prescribed regulations."

No such legislation as the "Weekly" sets up has ever been enacted in Kansas. It would have been in open and flagrant violation of the

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constitution. What has misled the "Journal of Civilization" is, doubtless, the common practice in most of the larger cities and towns of the State of protecting illicit trade in liquors without any legislation — simply collecting certain amounts of money, previously agreed upon, from such joint-keepers as can pay, and prohibiting those that cannot or will not pay. This fine business is all unlawful. The Supreme Court of the State settled that matter fifteen years ago, in cases brought against the cities of Topeka and Leavenworth.

Our prohibitory legislation has all been through the courts; and the result, in a few words, is that in Kansas any thing and every thing in the nature of a drinking saloon, tippling shop, dram shop, or joint, is unlawful from any and every point of view. Intoxicating liquors may be lawfully sold in Kansas for medical, mechanical, and scientific purposes only, and nobody other than a legally permitted druggist may sell for these purposes. Hence the person whom we designate a joint-keeper deliberately and defiantly puts himself outside the law every time he sells a glass of whiskey or a mug of beer to any person for any purpose. Furthermore, the place in which he carries on the unlawful traffic was long ago declared to be a public nuisance.

This kind of legislation differs from criminal laws generally in one important particular. If a horse be stolen, a house burglarized, or a man beaten or robbed, the offence is primarily one against property or person, and hence it is presumed that the personal interest of the individual most immediately concerned is sufficient to move him to give information of the offence to the authorities; but in the case of unlawful liquor selling, the offence is against neither person nor property. The person who buys the liquor wants it for his own use. He asks for it, pays for it, and drinks it, or carries it away for future use. The offence is not against the person or his property, but against the whole people in their organized capacity as a State. It is not against one, but against all, taken as one, that the seller has sinned. No one person is more interested in the transaction than another, for all are equally concerned as citizens or residents of the State. It is not such an offence as would ordinarily and naturally move the average citizen to notify the law officers, even if he were present at its commission and knew all about it.

The offence being against the public, obviously public officers ought to look after the case. And so our law provides:

"It shall be the duty of all sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, constables, mayors, marshals, police judges, and police officers of any city or town, having notice or knowledge of any violation of this law to notify the county attorney."

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That officer is then required to investigate the case and to prosecute it just as he does other cases. And if the county attorney fails or refuses to proceed, or if, for any other reason, this law is not enforced in any county, the attorney-general of the State is required to appoint one or more assistant attorney-generals — as many as he sees fit for that county — for the purpose of enforcing this particular law. It will thus be seen that our laws and legal machinery are amply sufficient for the complete execution of the prohibitory law in every part of the State; and it is a fact that whenever and wherever the officers that are charged with its execution have faithfully done their duty as the law provides, there has been no more difficulty in enforcing this law than there has been in enforcing the law against any other offence.

During the years 1885 to 1889, inclusive, this law was well executed in all parts of the State except in the larger cities. Mr. John A. Martin was Governor then. In his message of January, 1887, referring to this subject, he said:

"A great reform has certainly been effected. Intemperance is steadily and surely decreasing. . . . That intoxicating liquors are sold as a beverage anywhere within the limits of Kansas is not because of faults in our laws touching this question. . . . There is not a town, city, or neighborhood in the State in which an illegal traffic in liquors can be carried on for a single week, if the local officers discharge the duties plainly enjoined upon them by law, with zeal and fidelity."

In his last message, January, 1889, Governor Martin said:

"Except in a few of the larger cities, all hostility to our temperance laws has disappeared. . . . The business of the police court in our larger cities has dwindled to one-fourth its former proportions, while in cities of the second and third class, the occupation of police authorities is practically gone."

We were about four years in getting started on prohibition lines; and Governor Martin made it plain that official honesty, energy, and good faith could handle this law as well as any other. But the next administration was not so vigilant. In 1890–91 the decline began; prohibition machinery got into "practical politics," and was used for political purposes; and conditions have grown worse from that day to this. The Republican party championed the prohibitory amendment from the beginning down to 1894. In 1896 the State convention refused to insert the usual endorsement in the party platform. In 1898 and 1900 the subject was utterly ignored; and our present Governor refuses to have any thing to do with it.

In a carefully prepared report by an experienced and thoroughly competent agent of the State Temperance Union, submitted a little more than a year ago, it was stated that 129 towns had been visited and canvassed,

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and that of these 129 places, 27 openly protected liquor shops on condition of their paying certain stipulated sums of money at stated intervals; 34 allowed joints to run through "apparent collusion on the part of public officers"; and 40, or less than one-third of the whole, appeared to have no such places running. More than two-thirds of the towns ignore the violation of the law; nearly half of these openly exacting and receiving revenue from the unlawful traffic.

Topeka, the capital city of the State, with a high class of people, seventy-five per cent of whom are in favor of a rigid enforcement of our liquor laws, has had to bear with from fifty to sixty joints regularly running for years past; and the police officers know the exact location and manager of every one of them. At a mass-meeting in Topeka, held on February 10, 1901, the chief of police read a long list of "well-known joints" then operating in the city, which, for one cause or other, he had been unable to close, although most of their managers had been arrested many times, and as often had gone back to their bars immediately after giving bond to appear at some convenient time. Things have gone so far that in many parts of the State good people who demand the enforcement of the law and cannot secure it through the regularly constituted officers are in quasi rebellion. Trouble is brewing. What is to be done about it?

There is only one opinion among our people about the proper way to execute this law, and that has long been written out plainly in our statutes. But politicians and joint-keepers are in the saddle. They have for years defeated the execution of this law; and in the larger cities, especially, the people seem to be powerless under the present régime. The law ought to be enforced, or it ought to be repealed for very shame's sake. When people are unable to execute their own laws, they would be better off without law, letting everybody take care of himself. But this need not be. Let the people rebel along right lines, and they will conquer.

W. A. PEFFER.

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THE LIMITATIONS OF MONOPOLY.

THE power of monopoly, it is felt, must be limited, for it is quite generally believed that the unrestricted exercise of monopoly power cannot but result in social injury.

The power of monopoly is the ability to obtain some portion of the free income of society. The free income is that portion of the social income which can be diverted from one class to another without altering or disturbing the economic structure, and thus forcing a restoration of that which has been taken away. The free income of any individual is that portion of his income which he will part with, either by a decrease of his money income, or by an increase of the price of his purchases, without offering an effective resistance to this situation by ceasing to work or by changing his occupation, and so decreasing the supply and raising the price of labor in the occupation which he has quitted.

The free income is, in other words, the difference between income and standard of living. If a man's earnings are $2.50 per day, whereas $1.75 per day measures the present price of the goods which he considers indispensable to a comfortable and decent existence, his free income is 75 cents per day, and his total earnings can be reduced by this amount without forcing him into some new employment, and so compelling a restoration of his income.[1]

This free income, in greater or less amount, inheres in the gains of every individual. There is no one whose income could not be reduced to some extent without decreasing the supply of the labor or capital which he contributes to society. The reduction in most cases could be only a small amount per day; but, in the aggregate, these millions of minute particles make up a gigantic total. Twenty-five cents from the daily income of one, fifty cents from that of another, a dollar from the gains of a third — these deductions applied to all incomes reach into the billions a year. This is the free income of society, to obtain which monopoly power is exerted. This income is absorbed through movements

[1] The connection between free income and monopoly power is original with Prof. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania.

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of prices. An advance of ten per cent in the cost of living of a certain class, without a corresponding increase of its income, implies a subtraction of just this amount from its free income. This deduction can be made, for example, from the comparatively stable incomes of teachers by raising the price of gas, oil, sugar, coal, and meat, or the price of such clothing or house rent as this class is obliged to pay. This reduction of the free income of teachers, by increasing their cost of living, could go on until their incomes were so reduced that they could no longer maintain the standard of living which they should consider requisite for their position, when the supply of teaching ability offered to society would be decreased, and the money incomes of this profession would be raised until the standard of living should be restored.

Although, however, an excessive reduction of the incomes of any class can be thus prevented by a reduction of supply and a consequent rise in the value of their services or commodities, still this purely negative resistance can do no more than merely to protect the standard of living. It can do nothing to save the free income, every dollar of which can be extorted by superior monopoly power without deranging in any way the economic structure or disturbing the relations between the productive factors. Some more active resistance is required if the free income of any class is to be retained.

The power of monopoly to control prices is exerted by the limitation of supply. The more perfect and absolute is this control of supply exercised by any economic group, compared with the control exercised over the supply of their salable goods by the economic groups which exchange with it, the larger is the amount of the free income which it is able to secure as its monopoly gains. The power of a monopoly is measured by the amount of free income which is secured to the factor in question by its control of the supply. In this view of the case monopoly power is well-nigh universal. There are but few classes of society, nay, rather, few individuals in any class, who have not been able to get and to keep some portion of the social surplus. There is no class which has been reduced to a bare standard of living; and although large numbers within a class may be for a time forced down to that low level, the depression is seldom permanent.

We may now see clearly the nature of the monopoly problem. Certain classes in the community have obtained more of the free income than the amount to which an equal division would entitle them. This they have obtained through the larger control which they exert over supply, that is to say, through their superior monopoly power. We are,

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for the present, concerned with the various industrial combinations against which the charge of monopoly is most frequently brought — although, to speak the truth, a skilled physician or an expert lawyer is, in his smaller way, as much a monopolist as the veriest trust of them all. The American Sugar Refining Company, or the American Tobacco Company, or the Standard Oil Company obtains an unfair advantage over Michael Hertzka, coal-miner, because it can exercise a larger control over the supply of its commodities than Michael Hertzka can exert over the supply of his labor, and can, therefore, maintain a higher net income from selling sugar, tobacco, or petroleum than Hertzka can obtain from selling his labor.

In times of depression, when the social purchasing power is reduced, the great companies can reduce their output, and maintain the price of their products at a higher level than the price of the labor of the coal-miner, which may, at such a time, entirely vanish. In the same way, when prosperity returns, and the social income increases, the price of sugar, tobacco, and oil rises much more quickly and much higher than the wages of the coal-miner. In this way, by their superior control over supply, the industrial combinations take from the laborer, the farmer, the small artisan, the man on a salary — from every one whose control over the supply of labor or goods is less absolute than theirs — a part of the free income which these factors would obtain but for the fact that, as compared with the trusts, their control over the supply is feeble and ineffective.

This, then, is the problem of monopoly. How may the monopoly power of the weak be increased and the monopoly power of the strong be diminished to an approximate equality of advantage? How, to put it in another way, may a more equal division of the social income between the different factors be accomplished?

It has been proposed that this equalization of economic advantage might be accomplished through public regulation, taxation, public ownership of the means of transportation, public commissions with inquisitorial power, and even social ostracism — to be inflicted upon the individual who attempts by the exercise of monopoly power to oppress his fellow-men. Indeed, the regulation of monopoly is the economic fad of to-day. By those whom experience has taught to distrust the revolutionary zeal of misguided enthusiasm, and who, notwithstanding, believe that the power of monopoly is at present too great, it may be asked: Are there no influences and tendencies inherent in the economic constitution of things which will curb and check the power of monopoly to control prices without invoking the blundering aid of legislation?

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Current dogmatism has pointed to a safe and familiar way of escape. The industrial combinations are themselves exposed, it is said, to great dangers. If they raise prices above the competitive level they are threatened with competition. The present situation of the American Steel and Wire Company is an example. Eighteen months ago it controlled the supply of rods in the United States; the capacity of its mills representing the entire rod capacity of the United States with a figure of annual output of 1,500,000 tons. Relying upon this advantage it raised prices. Competition at once arose. At the beginning of the present year the capacity of the rod mills, built or building to compete with the Rod Trust, was 900,000 tons. Even the Standard Oil Company is attacked, and the Sugar Trust has fallen on the evil days of competition. No trust or combination, it is roundly asserted, can arbitrarily raise prices without inviting competition, and so courting destruction. We may rely upon it, we are told, that the shrewd managers of large enterprises will discover this fact for themselves, and will not tempt Providence by the practice of unjustifiable extortion upon the consumer. The consumer, therefore, in the long run, is safe.

This conclusion is unwarranted. In so far as the trusts control the sources of raw material they are in little danger from competition less favorably circumstanced. It is a familiar fact that this control has passed into their hands. The various combinations in the iron and steel industry, with hardly an exception, own their iron mines and coal mines; most of them, in some measure at least, control their own means of transportation. They are economic units, each complete within itself. Competition has small chance of carrying positions so well fortified. Secure behind their fortifications of mines, boats, and railroads, the iron trusts can defy competition. They can sell at low prices until their competitors are starved out, or until a price of purchase is agreed upon; and out of the various profits on production and transportation they can still keep up earnings to a decent figure, although the selling price of the product may fall below the actual cost of production of their would-be competitors.

All combinations, it is true, have not this advantage. The American Tobacco Company and the American Linseed Oil Company cannot own the land on which their raw material is grown, nor can the Standard Oil Company control the oil lands of the entire country; but there is always the advantage of large capital, the help of powerful financial and railway connections, and the inducements of a high purchase price to deal with bothersome competition. The American Steel and Wire

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Company, for example, is reputed to have already arranged for the purchase of some of the independent plants, most of which, as is well known, were built to sell; and the Standard Oil Company, through its railway connection, for several years blocked the efforts of the Pure Oil Company to get a pipe line through to the sea-board. The line went to a railway track in New Jersey, but it could go no farther. The frequency with which the problem of competition has been solved by the purchase of a controlling interest in the competitor is seen in the institution by this same Pure Oil Company of a voting trust whose object is professedly to secure the control of the company to its present stockholders, and to guard against its purchase by the Standard Oil Company.

How easily, by way of further illustration, has the Eastern Trunk Line competition been arranged. The Pennsylvania Railroad now owns a sufficient interest in its former competitors — the Baltimore & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, and Norfolk & Western — to secure it against their competition. Water competition is no more secure.

Competition between the trusts themselves no one can expect will be permanent; and this conclusion is enforced by recent events in the iron and steel industry; for large earnings depend upon a speedy settlement of all such difficulties. There is no private competition with any large combination of capital which can be relied on to impose effective limits upon its monopoly power. Such competition will be settled by intimidation, purchase, or amicable arrangement. So long as people do business for profit, some one of these means of defence will not be found wanting whenever competition seriously threatens the profits of monopoly. More effective restraints and limitations must be found, if the power of monopoly is to be controlled. Such restraints are, however, already in operation. They are: (1) The extension of the principle of combination to include every industry and all occupations — the universalization of the tendency to consolidation; and (2) the substitution of one good for another, meeting an advance in price by a change in the direction of demand.

The trust movement of the last three years, which has consolidated the industries of mining and manufacturing, should not be deplored as a social disaster. It should be hailed rather as a social gain, for it has meant a closer approach to an equality of monopoly power. Take the iron and steel industry, for example. For years the Carnegie Company dominated the situation. Other companies paid to the Carnegie Company a heavy tribute in the purchase price of their raw materials. Beginning with 1898, the plants in every branch of iron and steel produc-

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tion have been consolidated. Most of these companies now controlled to some extent their supplies of raw material, a control often extending, as above stated, to the ownership of iron and coal mines, boats and railroads. They were now in a position to contend with the Carnegie Company on more equal terms, and to force from that company a large part of its monopoly advantage. The recently threatened entrance of the Carnegie Company into the business of pipe and sheet production was due to the fact that the demand for its output had been reduced by the fact that the sheet trust and the tube trust were ready to produce the greater part of the raw material which they formerly purchased from the Carnegie Company. The monopoly power of the iron and steel trade is to-day more widely diffused and more evenly distributed as a result of the iron and steel consolidations. The absorption of the principal iron and steel combinations into the United States Steel Corporation is a practical recognition of the substantial equality, in respect of monopoly power, of all iron and steel producers.

In every line of mining and manufacture, before the inception of the trust movement, firms and companies were to be found widely differing in their capacity for economical production. The stronger concerns with the best plants and the latest improvements enjoyed a considerable advantage over their weaker competitors. Charging the same price, they were able, through their lower cost of production, to make a larger profit, in short, to get to themselves a disproportionate share of such monopoly profits as accrued to the industry to which they belonged. The inclusion of all these plants, both small and great, under the consolidation of the trust, has tended to equalize this advantage and to distribute more widely the increment of monopoly gains. The growth of industrial combination, so far from concentrating, has more widely diffused the power of monopoly, and has equalized the economic advantages which arise from its possession. Producers who were formerly sufferers from monopoly power have now been permanently relieved. They have been taken into the inner circle, and have been admitted to a share in monopoly power which under the régime of free competition they could not have obtained.

It may be contended, however, that the gains to producers from the organization of the trusts have been offset by the losses which the consumers have suffered. On the one side stand the manufacturers and mine-owners, a comparatively small body, firmly organized into large consolidations. On the other side are found the workingmen, the farmers, and the professional men — ninety-nine out of every hundred of the pop-

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ulation. These are the consumers, and it is from them that the social surplus is extorted. Here, it is claimed, is the real menace of the trust.

The consumer, however, has other safeguards against the power of monopoly. Owing to the corporate form which all industries have now assumed, and to the growth of the investment habit, he may, as a stockholder, participate in the monopoly gains from which as a consumer he may suffer. The wide diffusion of corporation securities is a phenomenon whose existence is not generally known, but which comes to the surface in an unmistakable way whenever hostile legislation threatens corporate profits. In Philadelphia, for example, it is estimated that fully 50,000 voters are stockholders in the municipal monopolies of that city. Probably one-fourth of the people of Philadelphia are directly interested in the monopoly profits to which, as consumers, they contribute. This same policy has long been pursued by the railroads, which have been materially assisted by the savings-fund institutions, particularly in the State of New York, where savings banks and trust companies are allowed to invest their funds in approved corporation securities. The Pittsburg Consolidated Coal Company recently made a move in the same direction, by opening to its employees an opportunity to invest in its preferred stock on exceptionally favorable terms.

The advocates of municipal and State socialism would do well to look about them. While they advocate the ownership of natural monopolies by the people, the people have already in their individual capacity taken possession. This movement toward public ownership — for such in fact it is — will progress with the general increase in incomes; and in this way the gains of monopoly will be diffused among an ever-widening circle of shareholders. Again must the trust movement be commended; because, by bringing all manufacturing industry into the corporate form, and hence imparting to its future a strength and stability which isolated heterogeneity would never have allowed, it has admitted the whole people to share in monopoly profits. As consumers, their free income may be taken from them in the price of commodities; but this is straightway handed back to them in the form of dividends.

Not only as shareholders in existing monopolies may the consumers be compensated for the loss of their free income, but as producers they may form organizations to dispute for its possession, and force a more equal division. The possibilities of consolidation are almost infinite. What is a labor union but a minute trust, and what but the stupidity of the working classes, which is now disappearing, hinders the universal organization of labor?

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With the astonishing success of the United Mine Workers fresh in our memory, a victory which was won literally by force and arms, where the strongest monopoly in the United States was forced to surrender to the leader of 150,000 laboring men, with the far-reaching plans of that organization already laid before us, plans whose mere enunciation throws the coal interests into spasms of anxiety, it is an easy feat for the imagination to picture all laborers organized into colossal trusts; wielding not only the power of monopoly, but the power of the ballot; wisely guided by men who have taken the motto "Live and let live" as the controlling principle of their management, and easily, without a struggle, enforcing an even division with their employers. In view of this gigantic movement, which has already assumed such formidable proportions, why need the laboring man fear the power of monopoly? He may himself, by the simple process of organization, become the strongest monopolist of them all. Here, again, the people should be grateful to the trust for having so clearly pointed the way to general consolidation of all producers.

Nor is the farmer prevented from a share in the advantages of centralized industry. The nation has often, during the past twenty years, been congratulated upon the fact that agriculture could not be brought under the trust form of organization. If this were, indeed, the case the farmer should be pitied. With manufacturing and mining industries in firm control of his products, he would, indeed, be at an alarming disadvantage were such control to be denied to him. Such, however, is not the case. Signs unmistakable point to the approaching centralization of agricultural industry.

The fruit-growers of California have been, for several years, acting together. The California Cured Fruit Association owns its own cars, makes its own terms with the transporting companies, and carefully limits supplies to market requirements. A recent illustration of the power of this organization is seen in its reduction of the middle-men's profits in the prune trade. Until recently a pound of prunes which sold for four cents on the car brought twelve cents by the time it reached the consumer. The Association has recently notified the trade that hereafter prunes will be delivered in sealed packages, with the price marked thereon, and that these packages are not to be broken by the dealer. The fruit-growers of North Carolina have gone even further than this. They propose to deal directly with the consumers through the agents of their organization. Another illustration of the centralization of the agricultural industry is seen in the organization of a company to purchase the rice crop of Louisiana and eastern Texas. Seventy-five per cent of the

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growers have signed contracts to deliver their crop at the warehouses of the company, at a stated price, for the term of four years. The price obtained is higher than that which prevailed when the farmer was at the mercy of the middle-man.

These are only a few of many illustrations which could be given of the spread of the trust movement into the agricultural industry. There is no reason to doubt that the movement will go on until it includes the growers of cotton, meat, and cereals. The Granger movement of the seventies broke down because the farmer had not learned the lesson of self-control and subordination to his chosen representatives. The economic basis of the movement was entirely sound. There is no reason why the wheat-growers should not sell their grain to their own association, which could carry it for a favorable market with money borrowed on its security. This is what the elevator companies do at present. The farmers' associations could do it equally well. Those who deny the feasibility of the centralization of agriculture must also deny that the growth of general intelligence among farmers, and the keenness of insight into industrial conditions which the farmer proverbially possesses, will not be sufficient, in the near future, to influence these people in discerning the signs of the times, and in following the example of the labor unions in securing a larger control over the supply of their product.

There is no need to follow the movement into other lines, and show that the spirit of centralization has already infected all branches of wholesale and retail trade; that the business of banking and exchange is following in the same direction, and that even the professional classes are catching the spirit of the age.

The universalization of monopoly power, and, by consequence, a closer approach to equality of monopoly advantage, is already in sight. When all producers are closely organized the supply of every commodity will be firmly controlled. What is taken from the laboring man in the price of oil, sugar, and coffee, will be restored to him in a higher rate of wages. What the farmer loses in the price of barbed wire and binding-twine will be restored to him in the price of wheat. When all the productive factors stand on an equal footing, no one will be able to gain any considerable advantage over any other. This monopoly power will never be equally distributed. To expect this would be visionary. But conclusive evidence, accumulating on every hand and in every industry, points to the conclusion that the solution of the problem of monopoly lies not in the abolition or even the curtailment of monopoly power, but in its general distribution throughout all classes of society.

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But the consumer need not rely solely upon these means of protection against the power of monopoly. He has a more effective remedy constantly at hand, in the power of substitution — a remedy whose application, though requiring a modicum of intelligence, is instantly effective. The sympathetic movement of prices has long been clearly perceived. The prices of wheat, corn, and oats move together, no matter in which grain the initial disturbance of the supply-and-demand relation may have occurred. The prices of all products which are interchangeable in their uses rise and fall in unison.

The application of this law of the sympathetic price movements of substitutes has not been made to the problem of monopoly, yet its application is plain and obvious. Let us proceed by illustration. The monopoly of the anthracite-coal industry has been already referred to. From 1880 to 1898, while general prices fell forty per cent, the price of anthracite coal at Philadelphia declined from $4.53 to $3.75, or seventeen per cent. The consumer was taxed more and more heavily by the coal trust. How did he escape from this situation? By the use of bituminous coal. The almost unlimited area of soft-coal land enabled the supply to be increased at will. During this same period, 1880 to 1898, the price of bituminous coal in the United States decreased from $3.75 to $1.60 per ton, or sixty per cent, the result of an increase in its supply from 38,200,000 tons in 1880 to 148,700,000 tons in 1898 — an increase in per-capita consumption of from .76 tons in 1880 to 2 tons in 1898. During the same period the production of anthracite coal increased only from 25,500,000 tons in 1880 to 47,600,000 tons in 1898, an increase in per-capita consumption of from .5 ton in 1880 to .6 ton in 1898, or twenty per cent, as compared with an increase in the per-capita consumption of bituminous coal of 163 per cent.

In other words, during this period of eighteen years, the per-capita consumption of bituminous coal increased eight times as rapidly as the consumption of anthracite. A constantly increasing proportion of the population have abandoned or decreased their consumption of the monopolized fuel in favor of a cheaper substitute. Along the same line have come the substitution of crushed coke for anthracite coal, and the use of gas and petroleum as fuel. No better illustration of the effectiveness of the power of substitution to curb the power of monopoly could be asked for.

The Standard Oil Company is a monopoly. It has almost absolute control over the price of refined petroleum, and can fix its price at the point of largest monopoly revenue. But this power can only be exer-

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cised to the fullest extent in the country and in the smaller towns. On approaching a gas tank or an electric-light plant the price of oil at once declines. The general substitution of gas for oil depends merely on the continuance of the growth of towns into cities and of hamlets into towns. Soft coal is everywhere abundant, and gas can be manufactured at a low price. A few companies, like the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, have consciously adopted this policy of substitution, and are rapidly introducing gas as a substitute for anthracite coal and petroleum.

The International Paper Company announced in its prospectus that its monopoly was secured by the possession of large tracts of timber land in Canada and northern Maine. Its position, therefore, in the statement of the prospectus and in the opinion of the trade, was invulnerable. Hardly, however, had the publisher felt the first pinch of monopoly, when substitutes for the raw material were discovered. The magnolia-tree, which will grow anywhere in the lowlands of the South, furnishes a grade of wood pulp which is entirely satisfactory. Furthermore, the announcement is made and confirmed that paper pulp from the hull of the cotton-seed and from the waste of the sugar plantation can also be made. The monopoly of the International Paper Company is in great danger from these cheaper substitutes.

Examples of the power of substitution could be indefinitely multiplied. Cotton-seed oil has been successfully degummed, and is being sold in competition with linseed oil, the control of whose supply has given to the American Linseed Oil Company its control of the paint market. Moreover, cold-water paint, a mixture of lime, water, and casein, is being sold for the same purpose, making a satisfactory substitute. The price of wool is a monopoly price, from whose incidence there seemed to be no way of escape; yet a recent estimate of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers states that the per-capita consumption of wool in the grease has decreased from 9.07 pounds in 1890 to 6.7 pounds in 1900, a result due to the substitution of cotton. A substitute has been discovered for rubber. Ramie has been decorticated and will soon serve as a substitute for flax. The monopoly of the copper trust is threatened by the solution of the problem of leaching copper direct from the ore, without the long and expensive operations of roasting and smelting, which confine production to a comparatively small area of high-grade ores easy to be controlled.

There is no need of further illustration. No monopoly is secure in its control; for no monopoly can be protected against the power of sub-

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stitution. Until bounds are set to the power of invention, and until the possibilities of natural resources are strictly limited, we can never be in serious danger from the tax of monopoly prices. It is true that the exercise of this power of substitution implies a degree of discernment not generally possessed up to this time; but the rapid introduction of substitutes within the last few years, among all classes of consumers, and the fact that many of these substitutes exert their influence upon prices in the field of capital goods, where the people are trained to discover and appreciate them, assure us that the general limitation of the power of monopoly by the power of substitution will not be long delayed.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

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THE CASE FOR THE SOUTH.

My subject, and, sadly, my purpose, may be hackneyed. Nevertheless, it is plain that, despite all that has been said and done, even the best of men and women in the North have not yet arrived at the point of insight and knowledge of conditions essential to real sympathy with their fellow-citizens of the Southern States. I fear that the average Northerner is at best indifferent, and that there are those who regard the Southern people, in politics at any rate, with something akin to scorn. Once more, then, let me present the case for the South as an appeal to the sympathy, the patriotism, and the common sense of the North.

I confess that I am prompted to the writing of this article by the result of the recent election — seeing that for two years surely, for several more probably, the affairs of our nation are to be in the hands of the Republican party, in which obviously there is scant sympathy with the South — and by certain movements in Congress. I lay no charge against the party. It were too much to expect that, having so few representatives of the South in its official ranks, and having received a steadfast opposition from the South from the beginning, the Republican party should sympathize with the Southern people or in the slightest degree appreciate their point of view. Without irony, however, let me interject that a party that has done so much to make the South a part of the Union owes it to itself to regard the Southern people as of one common country, and to be concerned for them as zealously as for those of faithful New England.

Now let me point out some more or less familiar facts. The Southern people are a conquered people. They fought to the bitter end. But history contains nothing to surpass the nobility with which they have conducted themselves since 1865. The soldiers of Lee lived to become, with whole hearts, citizens of our common country; and, without exception, they have reared their sons and daughters to love the Union. The Confederacy is but a memory. There is not the remotest vestige of the passion that swept the male population of our section against the North: there is a natural, unrestrained love for our common country. We honor

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the Confederate veteran, we glory in his valor, we cherish the fame of leaders lost; but of actual feeling against the Union there is not, I repeat, the remotest vestige. One born since the war finds it almost impossible to realize that the war occurred; and the records of its bitterness and intensity can scarcely be believed.

Children of ease, softened by a stately civilization, unused to labor, the Southern people found themselves at the close of the war confronted with conditions that would have destroyed them, had it been possible — labor gone, property gone, lands run down, currency abolished, male population sadly reduced, national hopes utterly wrecked. The oft-portrayed spectacle of the Southern soldier with armless sleeve returning to find his home in ruins and desolation can never be half drawn. That picture is not of one man, but of tens of thousands. All this represents only the background. Had there been no more than this, the New South would have arisen from the ashes long ago. But hear me.

Confronting that soldier was a mass of freed negroes, unversed in government, susceptible to every kind of darkness, yet invested with the high prerogatives of Anglo-Saxon self-sovereignty and coöperative government. There were 4,000,000 of them, all told, 850,000 of them voters! But this is not the worst of it. The former master might have instructed his one-time slave. But from the North came another army of invasion, camp-followers and adventurers, in the name of Reconstruction, who — destroyers that they were, as unworthy of the North as the South — filled the hearts of the negroes with a bitterness and a suspicion of their former masters that had not been known before. If the North wonders why the white is against the black let it read history and learn that sons of the North first set the black man's heart against the white man.

Out of these circumstances has come the solid South — a sectional protest against sectional passion. It is only thirty-five years since; but one may reckon it a hundred when he sees the changed conditions. The stately antebellum civilization passed, not to return; the country estate is known no more; the very atmosphere has passed away. Here is a prosperous people, quite as happy as that other day knew; here are thriving cities where once were only court-houses; here are thousands of small, but busy, farms where there were hundreds of greater and more idle ones; here is a social life quite as hearty, if not so aristocratic, as that of slavery times; here are manufacturing enterprises in ever-increasing numbers where formerly the thrill of industrial enterprise was never known; here, in brief, is as hopeful a people as the sun shines on.

The Southern people have come to this through agonies of poverty;

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and, though they were compelled by necessity to work on the credit system and to purchase from other sections, they have paid for every thing they have almost twice over. It is a tribute not more to the productiveness of their lands than to their industry and the courage of their hearts. They have reared churches and schools everywhere; they have built cities, railroads, and factories; and, at present, with a population schooled in adversity at last come into the borderland of prosperity, they are charged with the thrill of an industrial impulse that will astonish their Northern brothers long before it shall have spent its force.

The Southern people were not long perplexed with the difficulty of commercial and social readjustment. Energy and labor and self-respect were required; and these could not be destroyed. But the South struggles yet with her political problem, thrust upon her by that greatest of civil blunders, the enfranchisement of a numerous host of ignorant men of a lower race, who were incapable of the ballot, and who, it is unreasonable to hope, can be made fit for its responsibilities within two hundred years. The most deplorable effect of the war was not the loss of slaves, for from the day of surrender until now negro labor has been as cheap as it was in slavery; not the loss of money, not the loss of hope — all these have been overcome, and in their stead we have real blessings — but the enfranchisement of the negroes. If the negroes in North Carolina have a more constant friend than myself, if they have a friend who has spoken more frequently in their behalf these last two turbulent years, it is not because he has excelled me in zeal for their welfare or in appreciation of their potential virtues. I do not mean to say that we would have had a perfect civilization but for the enfranchisement of the negroes, or that the negroes have been intentional authors of our woes. I simply mean that the presence of the solid negro vote — in vast majority in many districts and in some entire States — has presented, perhaps, the most serious evil that could have confronted the South.

The Southern white people have had to stand together in politics. No matter into what condition their party might fall, no matter what it might do, no matter who should lead it, they have had to vote all one way or give over large sections to the rule of negroes — which, men of the North, surely meant corruption and anarchy. The negro cannot rule, whatever else he may be capable of. Here is a case in point. In one Congressional district in North Carolina, Mr. McKinley appointed eighteen selected negroes to federal positions. In three years, five of them were arrested for robbing the mails.

It is not a matter of prejudice in the South, but one of incontrovertible fact, that it is the exception and not the rule when negroes are found

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capable of responsible position of trust. That there are such negroes is a blessed fact; but they are not in politics. The very nature of Southern — and, I hear, Northern — politics in all parties is corrupting; and if the white man finds it difficult to resist temptation, we can scarcely expect the negro, whose conscience has not been long under the tutelage of independence, to withstand it. So, then, as between municipal carelessness, boss-rule, partisan laws, and passionate politics, on one hand, and municipal carelessness, boss-rule, partisan laws, and passionate politics, plus negro incompetence, weakness, and insolence, on the other — the Southern people have chosen to have the former when they must; and I make haste to say that it has not always been necessary, not by any means. North Carolina has had many a year of good government, and so have other Southern States. The point is, though, that the negro has made corruption ever near at hand and kept us powerless against it. Of course, it is obvious that, exerting such an influence, the negro vote has made political progress very tedious. Reforms and more timely laws have come tardily, lest their suddenness might divide the white vote.

These are some of the conditions. It is clear that to Southerners the one insurmountable obstacle to progress politically has been the presence of a large body of negro voters, ignorant and irretrievably prejudiced. Having overcome in every other respect the consequences of the Civil War, within the last ten years the Southern people have made bold to devise means of overcoming this difficulty. Let the reader put this to their credit, no matter what he thinks about it: their motive is good. And I have an idea that the Southern people have some advantages over the Northern politicians in this matter. They have lived here and dealt with this problem for thirty-five years. This is the point I wish to impress particularly.

I would not undertake to deny the fact that in the "black" districts there have been for years various irregular methods of cutting down the negro majorities. But what reasonable man will not at least appreciate the animus of the white citizen who, having to choose between defrauding the negroes of the suffrage and turning a county over to them and to anarchy, between cheating or intimidating the negroes and abandoning his home and property, has chosen the former? Of course, this has brought the suffrage low. Of course, it was inevitable that the ballot-box should fall into the hands of bad men, under such circumstances. Of course, such conditions tend to prostrate the people morally. Southern citizens have known this. And here is the word for the Northern reader: Out of reflection upon this condition and its one cause, the Southern States have these ten years been following one another in measures de-

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signed to eliminate the negro vote legally. Is not the motive good? Would the noblest citizen in Massachusetts do less?

It is this view that I desire to get before the citizens of the North. I declare that the amendment to the constitution of North Carolina disfranchising the negroes was ratified, not in prejudice against the negro, not for any party's sake, but for honesty's sake, to save the State from moral prostration, to save the people from political slavery, in the bondage of fear. If the Republicans could only see that this elimination is the only hope of their party in the South! In the recent election the majority for Mr. Bryan in North Carolina was about 25,000. Of this majority fully three-fourths was "rolled up" in the black districts, where the negroes did not vote. The two districts in which white people are in the largest proportion elected Republican Congressmen by handsome majorities. This indicates the evenness of political chances where there is liberty of choice. Since our Suffrage Amendment was ratified there has been far more freedom of expression. And on every hand there is a demand for a fair election law, for better schools, and for progressive legislation; and there is good earnest that this demand will be heard. As I write these words our General Assembly is passing a bill appropriating $200,000 extra to our public school fund; and I am enabled to say that a fair election law has been agreed upon.

If, however, these measures of elimination are interfered with, my word for it the South is all but hopeless politically, unless other legal means may be found. For if legal means may not be, illegal methods will prevail by common consent, against which no power that I know of may successfully cope. Force bills and soldiery might be offered. I hesitate to contemplate the effect of such measures. I prefer to hope that statesmen will take counsel before giving any section of our land over to the negroes, who by every token of experience and reason are unfit not only to bear office, but to vote. To a Southern man, in the light of common observation, it is a constant wonder that any one ever ventured to hope that a million slaves could reach the point of Anglo-Saxon self-sovereignty in a day or a decade or a century. And in view of General Wood's experience in Cuba and Mr. Dole's in Hawaii, not to mention the Philippines, he takes hope that his Northern brethren will at last appreciate the South's long struggles against great odds, up from desolation, under a handicap like which no people ever bore before.

The South is in the morning of a new day. Her mines, her forests, her fields, and her factories have begun to attract the tide of population. The latest census indicates that her population has increased by a larger

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percentage than that of the West. The new régime in Cuba and the opening of our Isthmian canal will enlarge her market. By manufacturing her own cotton she will easily increase her annual income 300 per cent. Her industrial life is fast becoming like that of the North, and her political sympathies will surely tend the same way — but not if the party in power strikes down her arm as she raises it to free herself.

The population of the South is homogeneous. The foreigner is a stranger here. The Southern people are sons of those first pioneers who came from England and Scotland, and, in the farther South, from Spain and France. In other days the South played a great part in national life. Not a few of the nation's great leaders came from below Mason and Dixon's line. If these last thirty-five years have not brought forth one man of the first rank the reason is plain. Her political condition has rendered it impossible. Let no one fancy that the potential blood is not here. It is here, if anywhere; and a few years, if the South's determined effort to free her sons is appreciated, will bring forth rich contributions to the glory of our nation.

So, then, I submit that it is good statesmanship to leave the South to her own way in working out her salvation from the ignorant negro vote. If her plans shall be proved unconstitutional, I submit that it would be better to abrogate the Fourteenth Amendment than to drive her back into the wilderness. I submit that it is good political policy. I hold no brief for any party; but I say what Democrats and Republicans in the South all know when I declare that the only hope of the Republican party and of political progress in the South lies in the elimination of the ignorant negro from the voting body. Republican victory by means of the negro vote will never bring the right stamp of men into its councils; nor will it be on a permanent basis. But there will not be any Republican victory of consequence so long as the negro is suffered to vote.

I submit that the interests of all parts of our country are largely identical. If the South is paralyzed the North must suffer. In this new time, when our nation must confront the world, we must make the most possible of the whole nation, and we must make it whole. Thus, the Republican party in full power is confronted with alluring opportunities of constructive statesmanship, second to none in our political history. I appeal to the men of the North to allow their Southern brethren to determine the means of dealing with the negro vote. In all else the Southern people have recovered from the war. In this they can recover, if permitted to follow the impulses arising from moral and political necessity, and from the dictates of long experience.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY.

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THE GRANGE.

THE difficulty of uniting the farmers of America for any form of coöperative endeavor long ago became proverbial. The business of farming encouraged individualism; comparative isolation bred independence; and restricted means of communication made union physically difficult, even among those who might be disposed to unite. It was not strange, therefore, that the agricultural masses grew into a state of mind unfavorable for organization—that they became suspicious of one another, jealous of leadership, unwilling to keep the pledges of union, and unable to sink personal views and prejudices.

It must not be supposed, however, that the farmers themselves have failed to realize the situation, or that no genuinely progressive steps have been taken to remedy it. During the last three decades at least, the strongest men that the rural classes have produced have labored with their fellows, both in season and out of season, for union of effort; and their efforts have been by no means in vain. It is true that some of the attempts at coöperation have been ill-judged, even fantastic. It is true that much of the machinery of organization failed to work and can be found on the social junk-pile, in company with other discarded implements not wholly rural in origin. But it is also true that great progress has been made; that the spirit of coöperation is rapidly emerging as a factor in rural social life; and that the weapons of rural organization have a temper all the better, perhaps, because they were fashioned on the anvil of defeat.

Among all these efforts to unite the farming classes, by far the most characteristic and the most successful is the Grange. The truth of this statement will be immediately questioned by those whose memory recalls the early rush to the Grange, "Granger legislation," and similar phenomena, as well as by those whose impressions have been gleaned from reading the periodicals of the late seventies, when the Grange tide had begun to ebb. Indeed, it seems to be the popular impression that the Grange is not at present a force of consequence, that long ago it became a cripple, if not a corpse. Only a few years ago, an intelligent magazine writer, in

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discussing the subject of farmers' organizations, made the statement, "The Grange is dead." But the assertion was not true. The popular impression must be revised. The Grange has accomplished more for agriculture than has any other farm organization. Not only is it at the present time active, but it has more real influence than it has ever had before; and it approaches nearer to a national farmers' organization than any thing else in existence to-day.

The Grange is also the oldest of the general organizations for farmers. Though the notion of organizing the farmers was undoubtedly broached early in the history of the country, the germ idea that actually grew into the Grange is about a third of a century old, and should be credited to Mr. O. H. Kelley, a Boston young man who settled on a Minnesota farm in 1849. He wrote considerably for the agricultural press; and this experience helped to bring him to the conclusion that the great need of agriculture was the education of the agriculturist. He soon came to feel that existing agencies for this purpose — farm papers and fairs — were insufficient. In 1866, as agent for the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Kelley made a tour of the South, with the view of gaining a knowledge of the agricultural and mineral resources of that section. On this tour he became impressed with the fact that politicians would never restore peace to the country; that if it came at all, it would have to come through fraternity. As his thought ripened he broached to friends the idea of a "secret society of agriculturists, as an element to restore kindly feelings among the people."

Thus the Grange was born of two needs, one fundamental and the other immediate. The fundamental need of agriculture was that farmers should be better educated for their business; and the immediate need was that of cultivating the spirit of brotherhood between the North and the South. The latter need was unquestionably a powerful factor in the destruction of the sectional spirit, and no longer exists; but the fundamental need still remains and is sufficient excuse for the Grange's existence to-day. Mr. Kelley interested six other men in the new idea; and in December, 1867, these "seven founders of the Order" organized the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry. Two of these founders still live — Mr. Kelley, in Florida, and Dr. John Trimble, the revered secretary of the National Grange, in Washington, D. C.

Thus was begun a movement for organization that had resulted by 1873 in the formation of over 20,000 Granges in 28 States, comprising not less than 750,000 members; and in that year the National Grange, as a representative body, was officially organized. For four or five years

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this unexampled prosperity continued; then the reports show a feeling of weakness creeping in. In fact, the Order as a whole steadily declined in numbers and prestige during the whole of the decade following 1880. The losses were most serious, however, in the South and West; for in New England and the Middle States it retained its vitality, and, indeed, grew steadily.

During the last ten years there has been a widespread revival of interest in the organization, and the outlook is exceedingly promising. Since 1890 the membership has increased not less than seventy-five per cent. New York at present has 550 Subordinate Granges, with 43,000 members; Pennsylvania, 526 Granges and 20,000 members; Maine, 275 Granges and 29,000 members; New Hampshire, 260 Granges and 24,000 members; Michigan, 420 Granges and nearly 25,000 members. These States lead, but the Order is also active and strong in Vermont, Connecticut, Ohio, Massachusetts. Thirty States pay dues to the National Grange treasury, and twenty-four were represented by delegates at the last National Grange.

The official title of the Grange is "Patrons of Husbandry," of the members "Patrons," and of the various divisions "Granges." The "Subordinate Grange," or local lodge, is the Grange unit. Its area of jurisdiction has, nominally, a diameter of about five miles; more roughly, "a Grange to a township" is the working ideal among the organizers. The membership consists of men and women, and of young people over fourteen years of age, who may apply and by vote be accepted. Constitutionally, those whose interests are not immediately with agriculture are ineligible to membership; and care is also exercised that only those who are of good repute shall be recommended. The presiding officer of each Grange is the "Master"; while among the twelve other officers the "Lecturer" is the most important, and virtually acts as programme committee, with charge of the educational work of the body. Meetings are held weekly or fortnightly. Each regular meeting has first its business session, and then its "Lecturer's hour," or literary session, usually with an intervening recess for social greetings, etc. The programmes are prepared by the Lecturer, and consist of general discussions, essays, talks, debates, readings, recitations, and music; an attempt being made to suit the tastes and talents of all members, young and old. Many Granges have built and own their halls, these being usually equipped with kitchen and dining-room, in addition to audience rooms; for periodical "feasts" are as regular a feature of the association as are the initiations of new members.

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The Granges of a county or other given district often organize themselves into a "Pomona Grange." The "State Grange" is a delegate body, meeting annually; delegates being chosen by the Subordinate and Pomona Granges. The "National Grange" is composed of the Masters of State Granges and their wives, and is also an annual gathering. The National Grange is the legislative body of the Order, and has full authority in all matters of doctrine and practice. But to State Granges is left the determination of policy and administration for the States. The State Granges, in turn, legislate for the Subordinate Granges, while also passing down to them ample local powers. The machinery is thus strongly centralized, and Subordinate Granges are absolutely dependent units of a great whole. Yet the principle of home rule pervades the organization; and local associations are responsible for their own methods and the results of their work, though their officers usually work in harmony with the State and National Granges.

Perhaps the clearest conception of what the Order originally meant to do can be gained from a few quotations from the Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange, which was promulgated twenty-five years ago, and is still in force:

"We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:

"To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comfort and attractions of our homes and to strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and coöperation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; less in lint and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

"We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible, by arbitration in the Grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good will, vital brotherhood, among ourselves, and to make our Order perpetual. We shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional, and National prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition. Faithful adherence to these principles will insure our mental, moral, social, and material advancement.

"For our business interests we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middle-men, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

"We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only

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for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests.

"We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people, and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per-cent profits in trade.

"We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home be taught in their courses of study.

"We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange — National, State, or Subordinate — is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, or call political conventions, or nominate candidates, or even discuss their merits at its meetings.

"We always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country. On the contrary, it is his duty to do all he can in his own party to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our industrial interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the principle which should characterize every Patron, that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office."

To enumerate the achievements of the Grange would be to recall the progress of agriculture during the past quarter of a century. It has been a motor force in many helpful movements, and in many ways has organized and incorporated the best thought of the most intelligent farmers, about means for rural advancement. It has been an integral part of, and a most potent factor in, the expansion of American farm life.

The greatest achievement of the Order is that it has taught the farmers of America the value of coöperation and the power of organized effort. The lesson has not been fully learned, it is true; but the success of the institution testifies that it is possible for farmers to work in harmony. It is worth observing that this result has been achieved on conservative lines. It is comparatively easy to organize on radical lines; easy to generate enthusiasm by promising some great reform; easy to inflame self-interest by picturing millennial conditions, especially when the pocket is touched. But quite different is it to arouse and sustain interest in a large popular organization whose object is education, whose watchword is self-culture. Of course, it would be but a half-truth to assert that the Order places all its emphasis on the sober problems of education. Agitation has had its place; the hope of better things for the farmer, to be achieved through

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legislation and business coöperation, has been an inspiration to activity; but the noteworthy fact remains that it has secured a fair degree of organization and coöperation among farmers chiefly by appeals to their larger and nobler interests.

That the association has vastly improved the social opportunities of farmers is a trite saying among old observers of its work. It forces isolation out of the saddle. The regular meetings of the local bodies rapidly and surely develop the social instinct among the members. Pomona Granges bring together members from all parts of the county and make them acquainted with one another. The State Grange draws its membership from every corner of the State; and as its personnel changes each year, thousands are in the course of a few years given the wider outlook, the more extended acquaintance, and the broader view that participation in such a gathering affords. Special social features add their influence.

As an educator on public questions the Grange has done a noble work. At nearly every meeting in this country, some topic of public concern is brought up by essay, talk, general discussion, or formal debate. The views of the "village Hampdens" may not always be economically scientific or scholarly. But it might surprise many people to see how well read the members are and how clearly they can express their ideas. Their discussions are not seldom informative, and that they make public opinion in rural communities is beyond cavil. The persistent advocacy of specific reforms has directed the thought of the members toward the larger issues that so often rise above the haze of partisan politics.

The Order has prepared the soil for adequate agricultural education. While the agricultural colleges have had many enemies among the farmers, and have received scornful opprobrium from those whom they were endeavoring to help, almost without exception the Granges have praised the colleges, welcomed their work, and urged farmers to educate their sons at these institutions. Farmers' Institutes, the Agricultural Experiment Stations, and the Federal Department of Agriculture have been equally welcomed by the Grange sentiment. The Grange has always taught the need of better rural education. It has also tended to develop its members, so that they may not only appreciate education, but that they may be themselves living examples of the value of such education. Farmers' Institute lecturers frequently say, "You can always tell when you reach a community where a Grange exists." In that meeting will be found men who have read and thought on farm and public themes, men who are not only ready in discussion, apt in statement, and eager to

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question, but men acquainted with parliamentary law, who know how such assemblages should be conducted, and who can preside with dignity and grace.

The Order has undoubtedly aided materially in obliterating sectionalism. That achievement was one of its avowed objects. There is no question that it assisted in cementing North and South; and that it has brought East and West into closer sympathy is equally true. Other farm organizations have found their incentive in the Order. These it has never frowned on, though believing and always hoping that it might attract the majority of farmers to its own ranks, and by this unity become a more powerful factor in securing the rights and developing the opportunities of the rural classes of America. It has always discountenanced the credit system; and that cash payments by farmers to merchants are far more common than a quarter-century ago may be fairly credited, in part at least, to its influence.

To describe the many specific legislative achievements which the Granges of the nation and of the several States have accomplished would be tedious. Merely to enumerate a few of them must suffice here. A convenient summary is made from an official circular recently issued by the National Grange. The Order has had a large influence in securing the following: The separation of certain agricultural colleges from universities which were receiving the land-grant funds, but were not, in the opinion of the farmers, duly contributing to agricultural education; the confining of the appropriations under the second Morrill act of 1890 strictly to instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts; the Hatch act of 1887, establishing an experiment station in each State and Territory; making the head of the Department of Agriculture a cabinet official; the agitation resulting in the famous Iowa court decision, that railroad franchises are subject to the power that created them; the establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission; tax reform in many States; laws favoring pure food and dairy products; preventing extension of patents on sewing machines; the establishment of rural free mail delivery.

The methods of work are many and varied. In addition to the regular literary and social programmes previously mentioned, socials are held at the homes of members, entertainments of various kinds occur at the Grange hall, and in many ways the association becomes the centre of the social and intellectual interest of the community. It is debating society, club, lecture course, parliamentary society, theatre, and circulating library. In fact, it lends itself to almost any function that will instruct, entertain, benefit, or assist its members financially, morally, intellectually, or so-

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cially. Of course, not every Grange is awake to its opportunities; but, as a rule, where a live one exists it is the acknowledged leader in social movements. The following news item, descriptive of the equipment of a strong Grange in one of the best Grange counties in the United States, will emphasize the possibilities of the organization:

"Macon Grange is one of the best-equipped Granges of the thirty-four in Lenawee County, Mich. It has a membership of 150, with a good prospective increase; is carrying $70,000 in the Patrons' Mutual Fire Insurance Co.; has a well-furnished, commodious hall, 26x50 feet, two stories high, a dining-hall with tables and dishes for ninety at a sitting. The audience room upstairs is carpeted and well supplied with paraphernalia, bunting, etc., warmed with a furnace, and seated with 200 chairs. We have a good choir, a male quartette, an orchestra; also dramatic club. There is a nice maple grove on the lot, and 180 feet of sheds, where forty teams can be sheltered from wind and storm. We also have twenty-three miles of rural free mail delivery, and forty miles of rural telegraph, which connects the homes of nearly all the members, and is much utilized in committee work, arranging programmes, etc."

It is not uncommon for Granges to hold fairs for the exhibition of agricultural and domestic products. The State Fair of New Hampshire has been largely managed by the Grange. In many cases Granges as organizations will exhibit at the ordinary county or district fair. Picnics and field meetings are coming to be very popular in some States, these being held during the summer season, at a time when work is least pressing, and are usually attended by speakers of prominence in the Order. Many Subordinate Granges give public lecture courses during the winter, securing speakers on general themes. They also arrange for entertainments of a popular character.

The Order also participates in activities that are not strictly Grange work. For instance, in Michigan, the State Grange has for six years carried on a "Fresh-Air Work," by which over 1,000 working girls, children, and hard-working mothers with babies, from the larger cities, have been given a two-weeks' vacation in country homes. The philanthropic agencies of the cities arrange for transportation and secure the beneficiaries, while the Grange obtains the places for them. Granges are always active in the organization of Farmers' Institutes, agricultural fairs, etc. In Michigan they are assisting in the organization of associations which are designed to bring together both teachers and parents for discussion of rural school problems.

On two important matters the Grange has been much misunderstood, not only by the public, but, more unfortunately, sometimes by its own members. In his "Division and Reunion," Prof. Woodrow Wilson speaks of it under the sub-title of "New Parties." Prof. Alexander Johnston, in his "American Politics" was more discriminating, for he said of it: "In

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its nature it is not political." But he also said: "Its object is coöperation among farmers, in purchasing and in other business interests." The first conception of the character of the Order is wholly misleading; the second is inadequate.

The Grange is not a party. It never was a party. During the "Granger legislation" period, many members doubtless misconceived the true function of the Grange, and abused the power organization gave them, while the popular mind credited the association with many notions for which it was not responsible. It has never organized itself as a farmers' party. The National Grange has endeavored to keep strictly aloof from partisan politics. It is possible that in some States the influence of the organization was, in the early days, used for partisan purposes; but the penalty was fully paid in the disruption of the Order in those States. The Grange to-day regards partisanship as poisonous to its life, and does not allow it on its shelves.

This is not to say that the Grange makes no appeal to legislation. It is possible that in some cases it places too much faith in law as a means of emancipation from economic bondage; but, in the main, its legislative point of view is sane and conservative. It believes that such ills as are due to bad or imperfect legislation can be, at least partly, relieved by good or more perfect legislation. Nor does it limit its interest to measures that concern the farmer alone. It is unalterably opposed to class legislation, and aims to keep its own skirts clear — to avoid even the suspicion of offence in this particular.

It may be asked, How does the Order manage to advocate public measures without becoming involved in partisan squabbles? Simply by ceasing to discuss a question the moment it becomes a party foot-ball. For instance: the financial policy of the Government was warmly discussed until the conventions of 1896 made it clear that it was to be a party issue. Again: the Grange can and does urge the construction and ownership of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States Government; but it has been silent on the larger question of "imperialism," not because the question is not of supreme importance to the members of the Order, but because the question became a subject of party controversy. This neutral policy as to party questions imposes certain limitations on the influence of the organization; but experience has demonstrated that this, more than any other thing, is responsible for the fact that the Grange still lives and thrives.

The other misconception lies in the sentence quoted from Prof. Johnston, that the Grange has for its object "coöperation among farmers in

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purchasing and in other business interests"; the implication being that business was the chief function. It is generally admitted that in the early days thousands joined the Order "for what there was in it"; believing that the organization furnished a means for abolishing the middle-men, and putting ready money into the pockets of the farmers. When these sordid souls were disillusioned, their enthusiasm went down to the zero of activity. They misunderstood, or interpreted too radically, a well-defined, conservative, legitimate purpose of the Grange to coöperate on business lines. The Order did believe that farmers could do without the surplus of middle-men; it did purpose to aid the farmer financially, though this purpose was not its main function. In the earlier period Grange stores were organized. A few of these are in successful operation to-day, but the policy as a whole has been abandoned.

Another plan, discussed over twenty-five years ago, has during the past decade come to assume practical importance as a method of coöperation on business lines. The plan, in brief, is that the various State Granges contract with manufacturing and jobbing houses to furnish members of the Order with goods at practically wholesale rates. Goods are ordered by the Subordinate Granges, under seal of the Order; are purchased on a cash basis; and are shipped to the purchasing agent of the Grange, and by him distributed to the individual buyers. Such materials as binder twine, salt, harness, Paris green, all kinds of farm implements, vehicles, sewing machines, and fruit trees are purchased advantageously. In many cases members save enough to pay all their expenses for maintaining the Grange. Even staple groceries, etc., are sometimes bought in this way. There is no capital invested; there are no debts imposed upon himself by the purchaser; and there has not been extreme difficulty in securing favorable contracts. The plan seems destined to continued enlargement and usefulness as a legitimate phase of business coöperation.

In several States the organization successfully conducts mutual fire-insurance companies; active membership in the Grange being an essential requisite for membership in the insurance company. Wherever these companies have become well established, it is asserted that they maintain a lower rate of assessment than even the popular "farmers' mutuals." It is said that "forty-one of the one hundred and twelve mutual fire-insurance companies in New York are under Grange auspices, and carry policies amounting to $100,000,000, at an annual cost of about $1.09 per $1,000." Single companies claim even better results. This insurance not only pays individuals, but it attracts and holds

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members. In New Hampshire a successful Grange life-insurance company exists.

In coöperative selling, the Order has so far accomplished very little, except locally and among individuals or Granges. There is a supreme difficulty in the way of successful transfers among Patrons themselves, as members desiring to buy wish the very lowest prices; those desiring to sell, the very highest prices. Arbitration under such circumstances is not easy. The fundamental obstacle to members selling together on the general market is that, in most cases, all members do not have the same things to sell. A coöperative creamery, for instance, is organized on the basis of a *product* — butter; the Grange is organized on the basis of *manhood* — and each man may have his crop or stock specialty. This difficulty, though grave, is not, perhaps, insuperable, and will tend to disappear as membership enlarges. But it is only fair to state that, so far, the Grange has not been able to devise any successful plan for coöperative selling, applicable on a large scale.

There are two or three features that deserve further mention. One is the position of the family in the Grange. It is stated that the Grange was the first secret organization to place woman on a plane of perfect equality with man. In every association each female member has a vote. Woman has four special offices assigned to her sex, and is eligible to any office in the gift of the Order. The majority of Subordinate Lecturers are women; many Subordinate and even Pomona Masters are women; Michigan's State Lecturer is a woman who is revolutionizing the educational work of the Order in that State; while Minnesota has a competent and earnest woman as State Master. Every delegate to every State Grange is a dual delegate — man and wife. The State Master and his wife are delegates to the National Grange. Women serve on all committees in these gatherings, and a woman's voice is frequently heard in debates. And not only the wife, but, as previously stated, the children above fourteen years of age may attain full membership. A large proportion of every healthy Grange consists of young people, who have their share in the active work. Thus it will be seen that the Order conserves the family life. It is doubtful if any other social institution in rural communities, not excepting the church, so completely interests the entire family.

The organization is also a conservator of morals. While sectarian discussions are as foreign to its purposes as is partisan politics, and while it does not even pretend to take the place of the church, it is built on a truly religious foundation. Its ritual is permeated, in word and in sen-

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timent, by the religious spirit. Every meeting opens and closes with prayer. Moral character is constantly eulogized and glorified in Grange esoteric literature. The membership comes almost exclusively from that large class of farmers who are moral, high-minded, God-fearing men and women.

The Grange has been opposed, both by farmers and by others, because secrecy is not a desirable attribute; but the experience of nearly thirty years and the uniform testimony of all leaders in the work declare that this was a wise provision. No influential member has, so far as it is known, proposed that the Order should be dismantled of its secret features. The ritualistic work is not burdensome. Occasionally the processes of initiation may take time that ought to be allotted to educational work; but, if the initiation is properly conducted, it has of itself a high educational value.

The financial status of the Grange itself is worth noting. The fees for joining are merely nominal, while the dues are only ten cents a month per member. These fees and dues support the Subordinate Granges, the State Grange, and the National Grange. There are no high-salaried officials in the Order, and few salaried positions of any kind. The National Grange to-day has over $50,000 in its treasury, and several State Granges have substantial reserves. This policy is pursued, not for the love of hoarding, but because it is believed that it tends to the permanency and solidarity of the Order.

It is sincerely to be hoped that this sketch will have convinced every reader who is interested in the prosperity of our rural classes that the Grange is a live institution; that it has within itself the capacity for satisfying a great need in rural society; and that it is destined to growth and larger and more permanent usefulness. In conclusion, may it not be allowable to sum up the chief reasons for the hope of progress just expressed? The Grange is based on correct principles: organization, coöperation, education. It is neither a political party nor a business agency. It is progressively conservative — or conservatively progressive. It is neither ultra-radical nor forever in the rut. Its chief work is on cultural lines. It includes the entire family. It is now growing, and there is every reason for thinking that this growth is of a permanent character.

The Grange is ambitious to take its place beside the school and the church, as one of a trinity of forces that shall mould the life of the farmer on the broadest possible basis — material, intellectual, social, and ethical. Is there any good reason why this ambition is not worthy, or why its goal should not be won? KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD.

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THE SEARCH AFTER NOVELTY IN LITERATURE.

"THERE is nothing new under the sun," say the sages of all nations; and, in general, they are right. Historians make this clear to us every day. I do not mean merely recorders of political history; I use the word history in its broadest sense, to include the history of science as well as of art, that of literature as well as of social institutions. Historic researches in all branches of knowledge are conducted to-day at fever heat, and this may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that we feel ourselves so lacking in original ideas that we must live on those of the past.

At all events, the historians are counted among the great men of to-day; and they are just as proud of finding a predecessor to a modern theory or invention, as are those inventors and scholars who believe that their inventions or theories are original. Darwin does no more than repeat the thought of the old Greek philosopher Heraclitus. The utilitarian philosophy of Bentham and Mill and of their contemporary disciples established principles which had been already affirmed by the Greek Sophists of the second generation, among them Hippias of Keos. Comte's and Littré's scientific method of positivism has had its representatives since the very origin of thought. Lombroso's physiognomical studies have been preceded by similar ones made by Lavater, Gambattista della Porta, and even Pythagoras.

In our days, science as a whole, taking for its basis the idea that matter and force are identical, after having gone astray for a while in crude materialism, simply comes back to the conception held by the great erudites and mystics of most remote antiquity, from Rama and Krishna to the priests of Isis, Orpheus, and down to Plato. The strange resemblances between the precepts of our most modern hygienists and the laws written for the people of Israel by Moses have been minutely dwelt upon. Professors of ecclesiastical history write most interesting essays bearing such significant titles as "Reformers Before the Time of the Reformation."

And the historians are perfectly right. All these ideas and thoughts existed long before our century. The circumstances under which they are now promulgated may differ; we probably know a few more facts

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which serve to illustrate them in a new way; perhaps we use different expressions in presenting them; but all these are exterior elements only, which come and go in their turn. In the nineteenth century we have put to practical use several of these ideas, such as action at a distance by electricity in the form of the telegraph, telephone, etc.; but the ideas themselves are not new, any more than the idea of flying will be new when the machine enabling man to soar into the upper air shall have been invented. Mr. Stockton's novel, "Negative Gravity," is a proof of this, and so are other stories in which the date of this invention is anticipated.

If we now consider literature more particularly — and literature is nothing more than philosophy put within reach of everybody — we shall there find the same phenomenon. It is dwelt upon with a sort of passion by the historians — who here assume the name of "critics," perhaps with the object of making the public believe that the meting out of justice in this department is a special office. At all events, they cannot be accused of lack of zeal in proving that every thing new is interwoven with what is old, no matter what the true value of such efforts may be.

Not a day goes by without bringing us one or more volumes destined to deprive some author of the honor of being original in his writings, and transferring that honor upon some forgotten precursor. Here it is Rousseau, to whom the idea of the "Contrat Social" is not credited, the credit being given to La Boétie; there it is Bunyan, who is supposed to have found in France a whole literature treating of pilgrimages, of which he made use in his famous book; then it is Molière's turn, who is to be accused of taking without any hesitation what he could get from Cyrano de Bergerac, from Plautus, and from ever so many others, thus getting his best and most inspired scenes. A short time ago M. Brunetière proved that the great thoughts which have endeared to us the names of Pascal and Bossuet are originally found in Ronsard. More recently still we had to listen to the somewhat startling news that Poe's "Raven" had been written for the first time about twenty centuries ago, by the Chinese poet Kia Yi.

Similar researches, with similar results, might be made in connection with contemporary literature. Let us closely examine some of the most sensational theories which have sprung up within the last few decades. All of them have been advanced more than once in the course of bygone centuries; and it may be safely said that those which above all others bear the stamp of novelty, in the eyes of the majority of the people, are the most ancient of all. Look at the famous *Uebermensch* of Nietzsche,

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an idea which has been pronounced to be most frightfully audacious, and which means, as we know, that a few select members of the human race have the right to place themselves above all the rest, to reign supreme, to subject every thing to their pleasure, to crush, without pity, without feeling, the bulk of slave-like humanity; that the world has been created for these select beings; and that the crowd has been created to serve them. It is the philosophy of life which governed barbarous antiquity; it is the principle which sanctioned the deeds of the great Oriental despots — those who subjugated entire nations in order to make them execute, under the government of the whip, such works as would render their reign illustrious; the principle of the Cæsars of Rome; of the lords of the Middle Ages; of the great Occidental sovereigns, such as Louis XIV; in short, the principle which brought about the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and which is perpetuated in our day, thanks to the potentates of wealth.

It is true that Nietzsche's *Uebermensch* would never make use of his power in procuring such wholly material pleasures as did the ancient monarchs or as do many modern possessors of great wealth. That would be a profoundly erroneous conception of the idea which the German philosopher had in mind. What is here under discussion is simply the power; and in order to develop even the superior side of the human being, the principle of social inequality must be put to practical use. Nietzsche was not the first to offer to the world this conception in the form of a philosophical theory. His most illustrious predecessor was the great Aristotle himself. And in France, M. Oudinot has just tried to prove that Carlyle also was a predecessor of Nietzsche.

Ruskin was another of those who gave a new impetus to thought. But it is not possible to find among his revolutionary ideas a single one which had not been offered to humanity before. His fundamental argument — return to Nature herself — was advanced with at least as much fervor and vigor by Rousseau; and the latter offered it in a much broader form than did the former. Ruskin saw only that art was to be reformed; and art was, therefore, with him the central point of action. Rousseau saw that life itself had to be reformed; and only through such reform did he propose to reach society, education, the state, art. In other words, Rousseau first wanted to see life reformed and then art, while Ruskin wanted to reform life through a reformation in art, which, it seems to me, looks like turning things round, like standing the pyramid on its apex. His strong words in favor of manual and mechanical arts most vividly call to mind how these same arts had been in favor with

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the French Encyclopedists in the eighteenth century, notably with Diderot and D'Alembert, who in their turn had received inspiration from Francis Bacon. Roger Bacon held the same views, and so did Albertus Magnus, in the Middle Ages. And if we go back to antiquity we find many wise men speaking in favor of manual arts. Is it necessary to recall that St. Paul was a tent-maker? Finally, most of Ruskin's schemes for reorganizing human society may be found in the Utopias dreamed about for centuries, among them in Plato's Republic, which remains the finest example of this kind of literature.

Nor is anarchical literature, of which the most distinguished representative is M. Elisée Reclus, and which is so full of generous and high ideals, by any means novel in its fundamental thoughts. The Abbey of Thélème, sketched by Rabelais in the sixteenth century, is nothing less than a picture of an ideal state of society where anarchism reigns; where law is no longer necessary, the good will of everybody being sufficient to insure order; and where the motto of the good Jean des Entommeures, "Do whatever you wish," might be applicable. And anarchical communism has not only been proposed, but it was carried out, in part, by the Essenes, in the time of Christ, and by several mystic sects during the Middle Ages.

From all that has been said, it would seem that there is no novelty in literature. Man constantly turns about in a circle of ideas, stopping at one, and then again at another. But the further we advance, the less we must expect to find any novelty in theories. Even if we cannot trace the existence of some of them in the past, by means of written documents, there are still ten thousand chances to one that they were expressed in documents that have been lost or that have not yet been found, or orally, as in the case, for example, of the mysteries of antiquity in all countries.

On the other hand, some actual facts seem to speak against this point of view. We constantly hear of "original authors." Their works are devoured as if they were new Gospels, and they are discussed as if the ideas expressed therein had never been held by others. I have just given a few names of such contemporary writers, to which I might add many more.

But this is only an apparent contradiction. We must distinguish between novelty in the absolute sense of the word and in its relative sense. If the former does not exist, there is no reason why the latter should not. If a person has never heard of a certain idea, this idea, when presented to him, will be new to him, even if it has been expressed somewhere else, again and again. Moreover, an individual, as well as

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humanity as a whole, may greet as novel an idea possessed at some past time, but which has disappeared from the memory.

All this is very simple. And so it is easy to understand that we do not need absolute novelty in order to produce the particular effect with which we are concerned in literature. It is sufficient if there is an appearance of novelty to the eyes of the literary public. Nietzsche, in treating of his *Uebermensch*, seemed to offer something quite new, since he addressed an audience with whom ideas of social equality reigned supreme; Ruskin apparently offered some novelty — when, as a matter of fact, he demanded, in so many words, a return to old ideas — because his hearers were a class of people holding that progress could be attained only through the mechanical and electrical industries; Reclus and the anarchists could claim originality for their idea of liberation from every form of government, merely because they preached at a time of absolute political corruption and vile bureaucracy.

We find these phenomena not only in the domain of intelligence, but in other channels: in that of fashion, for example. We discard a small hat for a large one; a high heel has to make way for a low one; a wide sleeve is abandoned for a tight-fitting one; a low collar gives way to one reaching up to the ears. And whatever appears new for the moment seems most attractive. In the same way, we change our ideas, giving up one to accept another, and still another. We return to the first after we have completely forgotten it, and find it attractive because its beauty is again fresh to us. Thus, the success of a thought in literature does not primarily depend upon its intrinsic value, but upon the moment in which it is presented. Of course, I do not forget for a moment the part which the form must play in literature. A writer must know how to write. This is in a sense the very first condition of success. But so far as the present discussion is concerned this phase of the question must be left entirely aside, although novelty has been sought sometimes by way of a revolution in style.

What I have just described is a law of contrast; but one must be careful not to mistake it for a law of action and reaction. Action and reaction can only take place in the same line of thought. For example, there is action and reaction in theism and atheism, in the principle of social equality and inequality. But literature is not bound to follow any single line of thought. It treats of all of them, in their turn, and there is no possibility of establishing a law which would justify the line it follows. Perhaps it might be said that it is governed by the work done by scientists and philosophers, that when some important discovery has been

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made, literature takes hold and makes use of it. But that is only putting off the answer to the question, for there is no law which governs the regular return of discoveries in any line whatever; and again it is necessary that the discovery should be one that adapts itself to use in literature.

If an attempt were made to explain the various tendencies met with in literature, the explanation would probably be found in the special taste of each author; and I think it would be difficult to find a law governing even that. The ultimate end is this, that the literary public becomes an ethnologist with Loti, a psychologist with Bourget, a hypnotist with Du Maurier, a moralist with Tolstoy, a theologian with Mrs. Humphry Ward, a socialist with Sudermann.

The law of contrast seems, in reality, a small matter; and yet we shall see that it settles many a question in philosophy as well as in literature, which, without that law, would be difficult to answer. Let me point out a few instances.

Only a very superficial reader can overlook the fact that the ideas which are most readily accepted by the public in a new book are often very simple, merely the expression of the most ordinary common sense. Of course, there is the beauty and the force of language; but the idea itself, the nucleus, is so simple, so astonishingly *naïf* even, that, on thinking it over, it is hard to realize that a man of talent should be willing to devote so much labor in order to say something so self-evident, and that the readers should become enthusiastic over such elementary truths.

Let us take, for example, "Die Ehre," by Sudermann. Few works have excited such keen emotion in Europe. And what is the idea that the famous author offers us? That honor cannot be bought with money; that a poor man has his honor to lose as well as a rich man; that honor is no more an attribute of money than is intelligence. Is this not extremely simple, extremely *naïf?* It is a truth admitted by every person of sound judgment. But the circles in which Sudermann proclaimed this truth were so used to holding the opposite view, and literature had adapted itself so well to this view, that what was simply natural and self-evident became novel. In America, where the idea of inequality in this particular sense does not exist, Sudermann's drama did not meet with success. What is true of Sudermann in Germany is equally true of Dumas the younger in France. His "paradoxes" are nothing but utterances of the most simple common sense. They are truths good to be served to all who have not been saturated with contrary ideas.

Except on the theory of a craving after contrast as a stimulant to rouse interest, it would be difficult to account for the taste which the

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literary public of to-day, used to refinement and elegance, shows for popular literature, which is often crude and coarse, rendered in a heavy, discordant dialect, and handled with primitive simplicity. But it is this very contrast which gives us pleasure. And the æsthetic enjoyment which a man of culture derives from such works is much greater than that which the simple-minded reader, for whom they were originally written, gets out of them. In Germany, Fritz Reutter seems to become more popular each year. In general, a book containing a goodly portion of dialect and slang has a great deal in its favor. We have but to think of the songs of the famous Aristide Bruand, in Paris, or of the "Songs of the Ghetto," by Morris Rosenfeld, written in the language of the laborers of the sweat-shops of New York, where the author worked. It is the same disregard of literary pretensions and modern researches which attracts hundreds of thousands to the Passion Play of Oberammergau, and which insures the success of the present actors of Schliersee. Within the last few years, literary epicureans have frequented the Theâtre du Peuple, founded by Maurice Pottecher, in Bussang, France. Perhaps, too, the Swiss National Theatre, which has been called into life within the last ten years, under the name of "Festspiele," owes a part of its success to the same cause.

Another phenomenon frequently met with is that, during an epoch rather barren of ideas, such as ours is, we eventually — and courageously — go *back* a few centuries in order to get *new* impressions. We become enamored of an author or an artist to whom some critic calls our attention. There have been several striking examples of this within the last few years. Ten years ago, in Germany, we found the book "Rembrandt als Erzieher," which, for the time being, was very famous. In Italy, scarcely more than two years ago — at the end of the nineteenth century — D'Annunzio suggested Sophocles and the Greek stage as scenic models. At present, M. Brunetière proposes to France a man whose ideas are two hundred years old. Is it necessary to recall here the name of Omar Khayyám?

In my opinion, we can most rationally explain the pronounced tendency in the literature of our time in this way, namely, that after having for twenty years discussed, argued, attacked, and defended some theories, the need is felt of going to the other extreme, of giving up for a time what is called argumentative literature. It seems that the cry of the reading public is: Give us books which prove nothing, which do not tire our overtaxed brains. I do not think that there is need of going any further in order to explain what has been so often touched upon in the

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magazines of late, namely, the cordial welcome with which historical novels have been greeted in recent years. And the almost unheard-of success of "Cyrano de Bergerac," by Rostand, cannot be accounted for simply by the talent of the author, who, after all, is only a very witty man. Moreover, the public does not regard with displeasure books that sneer at science and reason, with which we have been satisfied for so long a time. Balfour's "Foundation of Belief," which appeared a few years ago, and which was received with clamorous applause, is a good example of this. People were tired of the arguments of reason, and saw with pleasure the attack made upon it and the ridicule it received at the hands of the author.

It will be seen that this law, although at first appearing very simple, is not without its value, in that it offers at least some tangible explanation of phenomena otherwise unexplained. It might be said that this search after novelty in literature, in preference to what is excellent, perhaps, but old, is due to the fact that we are not satisfied with the present conditions of life, that we look to literature in order to find something better. This may be one reason, but I do not think it is the chief one. Those desiring excellence may find any number of books to their liking. The practical influence of an idea treated in a literary work must be looked upon as a derived effect only, independent of the reader's will. The chief purpose in perusing a literary work seems to be the hope of finding in it some food for intellectual excitement. Tolstoy is widely read and enjoyed; yet very few would think of putting his ideas into practical use. The pleasure consists in finding that one is thinking his thoughts with him.

Again, the mind requires exercise as well as the body; and when it has assimilated one idea it must take up another. That is why an author who leaves the beaten tracks has a better chance of gaining a hearing. The public sides with the heretic and not with the orthodox, at least in literature. It can be readily seen that this longing for something new on the part of the public is a wholly normal condition — a phenomenon founded upon a psychological truth. If the reader were not interested in what is new, it would be a proof that the fire of his intelligence had gone out.

At the same time, of course, the authors are justified in their desire to be original; and instead of reproaching them for this desire, as is so often done, they should be encouraged. They may not make a happy choice in the road they select, but they are right in choosing one of their own. It goes without saying that there is bad novelty and good novelty.

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But is it wise to deprive ourselves of the latter under pretence of escaping from the former, and denounce the search after originality "as the worst disease of our time," as does M. de la Sizeranne ("Revue des Deux Mondes," June 1, 1900)? There is the fear of leading the taste of the public astray; but how can it ever acquire taste if it is never put to the test, or if it never sees anything but the beautiful? Having lived in the century which gave us a Hegel, ought we to be ignorant of the fact that the beautiful exists only because the ugly exists, that there is good only because there is bad, that there is the grand only because there is pettiness? But to return to the authors: should they be denied a trial at being original for the reason that they may not succeed at once, perhaps not at all? Do we learn gymnastics by means of tying our hands and feet? One must be paradoxical in order to merit the attention of the literary public — paradoxical, at least, in the relative sense of the word, if not in the absolute.

A literary school is practically dead the very moment it is recognized by the public as a school; for its fundamental principles have become familiar; judgment has been pronounced upon them; it has given every thing of value that it had in its power to give; and subsequent works are only repetitions of what is already known. An author should carefully avoid the mistake of walking in the footsteps of some successful writer of the day; for by so doing he will almost be sure to fail. There have been numerous imitations of "Rembrandt als Erzieher," but all such productions have fallen flat; and among the vast number of those who have cultivated Ibsenism, there is not one who can truthfully say of himself that he has attracted the attention of a serious critic. Great names which have found a place by the side of Zola (Guy de Maupassant, Huysmans) have become great because the authors themselves have had some originality to show; entertaining but very distant relations with their so-called master.

The books of such a writer as Tolstoy are read, after a few years have gone by, from habit rather than because they interest the public. The number of his readers may even increase with each new work that he publishes; but these readers are only such as constitute the ordinary element of the public, following a fashion that has already gone by, while the cultured class of readers has long ago interested itself in something else. Some authors know this very well; and when they have exhausted an idea they try to keep the attention fixed upon themselves by working some other vein. But they are not always successful in adopting this plan, since people are not fond of accepting any other label than the one

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they are used to see in connection with a name. Zola, for example, proceeded from naturalism to idealism in "Le Rêve"; and later on, having made the round of naturalism, he took up socialism in "Lourdes," "Rome," and "Paris."

Let us now apply the foregoing remarks to recent literature. The perfectly simple and rational explanation we arrive at concerning its somewhat puzzling productions is the best proof of the truth of what I have said. Never before has the fever of novelty been so pronounced as it is now. Indeed, it may well be asserted that this is the most salient feature of contemporary literature. It seems that there is no eccentricity which recent authors decline to satisfy. Some have taken this as an argument to the effect that the chase after novelty is in itself a novelty. I do not think that is so. Man's nature has not changed; and all who have been able to devote themselves to things of the mind have always been what they now are. The condition of novelty was complied with in the past as it is in the present.

But the circumstances under which the authors write to-day are very different from what they once were. The knowledge that the reading public acquires is much greater than it formerly was. The women of the middle classes of to-day know more than was known to the grand ladies of the eighteenth century, whose celebrated *salons* had such a profound influence upon the ideas and events of the civilized world. Also the means of making knowledge known are far greater than in the past—not only through books, but through magazines and newpapers. Consequently, even though the actual knowledge possessed by the masses may not have become deeper, it is yet considerable enough for them to decline to accept something appearing novel, but which is not so, as willingly as they did formerly, when their only intellectual nourishment consisted of the events of every-day life and the catechism.

Finally, there is science in general, the science of professional scholars, which has become greatly enriched by the researches made within the last decades. The professional men constantly publish the results of their investigations. Their avidity in making inquiries concerning the origin of ideas expressed by modern authors has already been mentioned. And, besides, they are continually narrowing the field of action to the newcomer through the old books they are editing, thus placing before the reader the celebrated men of past centuries. Thus, day by day the task of laying hands on some idea that does not seem trite to the reader becomes harder.

Under these circumstances, what could be done by our poets and prose

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writers? They were obliged to develop other ideas than those which naturally interest every human being, which obtrude upon every thinker, and which had already been treated over and over again by well-known authors. Next, they had to treat their subjects in a way to make them appear more striking and important than they actually were, *i.e.*, in an extraordinary, abnormal fashion. Eccentricity in all respects became their watchword. Not that they chose it: they were forced to accept it if they wished to write any thing that might be considered worthy of attracting the attention of a surfeited public.

Take, for example, the Symbolists, in France, who have been so frequently an object of mockery, even to the most serious people. Among them we may find some clowns, perhaps; but a great many of them are serious and sincere, even when their zeal leads them on to the ridiculous. Their great mistake, after all, is that having fully realized the circumstances which they have had to face, they have acted accordingly. They have clutched the last straw that was left to them by a century which seems to have seen every thing and known every thing; and their principle, in a few words, is about this: "Until now we have walked on our feet; let us then try to walk on our heads." (Huysmans has boldly entitled one of his most suggestive works "À Rebours" (Upside Down).) "Until now things have been done in one way; let us try the opposite way. Let us do the contrary of every thing that constitutes the basis of life's work; for this, at all events, will not be commonplace — we shall certainly find new emotions, new pleasures, new art. Until now we have prayed because we have been pious, because we have believed in God; let us then go to church not because we have religious faith, but in order to gain for ourselves an artificial excitement of our religious nature. On the whole, let us look for every thing that is artificial, abnormal, and morbid, and proclaim it; and let us submit the results to our readers."

Max Nordau made a reputation for himself by treating these authors as degenerates, and by giving a pathological reason for every thing that is out of the common in their works. I do not wish to deny the existence of a pathological element in many a modern literary and artistic production. I even positively believe that there is such. But this pathological element accounts for exceptional cases only; it is not the rule. The mere fact that Nordau puts all these authors in the same class, from the Preraphaelites down to Nietzsche and the Symbolists, makes us feel suspicious. It involuntarily reminds one of the sally of Montesquieu: "Of course . . . they lock up a few fools in a house, in order to convince the world that those who are outside are not crazy."

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I may say, then, that the explanation here offered is more satisfactory. With it there is no need to have recourse to such extraordinary arguments; nor is it necessary to declare that any artist who does not adhere exclusively to the commonplace is ready for an asylum. Why these authors, in spite of the logical basis of their method, have succeeded only partially is easily explained by the unfavorable conditions under which they have been working. There may be other explanations also, but it lies beyond the scope of this paper to discuss them. Nor is it the province of this article to consider whether it is not possible to imagine a literature of to-morrow which would avoid the defects of that of to-day, and yet command attention by reason of novelty.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

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WRITERS IN THE APRIL FORUM.

Mr. O. P. Austin, a native of Illinois, enlisted at the age of seventeen in the Union army, toward the close of the Civil War. Since reaching manhood has been a newspaper writer, reporter, and editor. Became a resident of Washington in 1881, and in 1898 was appointed Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Mr. Austin is the author of a number of semi-statistical publications—"Uncle Sam's Secrets," "Uncle Sam's Soldiers," etc.—intended for the instruction of youth, and now used for that purpose in public schools of leading cities.

Mr. Josiah William Bailey was born in Warrenton, North Carolina, in 1873. In 1893 received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Wake Forest College, in that State. Immediately thereafter became connected with the "Biblical Recorder," one of the oldest religious weeklies in the South, being the organ of the North Carolina Baptists, the most numerous religious body in the State; and in 1895 became editor of that paper, which position he now holds. Mr. Bailey gives especial attention to the cause of universal education in North Carolina, and has engaged not only in the task of readjusting the suffrage, but also in that of obtaining the promises of fuller liberty and better feeling on the part of the advocates of the disfranchisement of the negroes.

Mr. Kenyon L. Butterfield was born in Michigan, in 1868. Was educated in the public schools of Lapeer and Port Huron, and at the Michigan Agricultural College, graduating from the latter institution in 1891. The following year became editor of the "Grange Visitor," a paper published by the State Grange, which paper was four years later merged into the "Michigan Farmer." Now has charge of the Grange department of the latter paper. In 1895 was chosen State Superintendent of Farmers' Institutes, with headquarters at the Agricultural College, and held this position for four years, organizing, under the State law, an annual farmers' institute in every agricultural county in the State. Mr. Butterfield is at present pursuing graduate studies at the University of Michigan, with special reference to the relation of economics and sociology to the rural problem. Has occasionally contributed articles to magazines.

Mr. Alexander Hume Ford was graduated from the engineering department of Porter Academy, Charleston, South Carolina, in 1885. Spent two years in newspaper work, and then five years in the employ of the officials constructing the Georgia Central and the Richmond and West Point Railways. Returning to journalism, he was connected with the leading newspapers and magazines of New York and Chicago. In 1899 visited Siberia and Manchuria with the Russo-American engineers, who have supplied the Chinese Eastern Railway with materials of construction. Owing to the semi-official connection of the party with the Manchurian Railway, opportunities for gathering information were freely accorded by the Russian engineers and officials. Mr. Ford has just returned from a visit to the Continent, where he was offered every facility for obtaining information as to engineering work in European Russia. For the past two years, has studied in person the waterway systems of parts of Europe and Asia, and expects to visit those of the other continents in time.

Rev. Edward Everett Hale was born April 3, 1822; is a Unitarian minister in Boston, Massachusetts, where he has lived since 1856. His father was Nathan Hale, for half a century prominent as editor of the Boston "Daily Advertiser," and a leader in the internal improvement of the country by railroads, from 1826 until the

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time of his death. Nathan Hale was the first president of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and chairman of the committee for introducing water into Boston. Mr. E. E. Hale graduated at Harvard College in 1839, and was ordained as a minister at Worcester in 1846. His first work in national affairs was his share, as a director of the Emigrant Aid Company, in the settlement of Kansas. In the war was closely connected with the Sanitary Commission. As a writer for "The Atlantic Monthly," his articles were written with national and patriotic purposes. "The Man Without a Country," printed in 1863, gained wide circulation. Has edited "The Christian Examiner," "Old and New," and "Lend a Hand." Among his best-known works are "Two Times One" and "In His Name." Has earnestly advocated a "High Court of Nations," such as is now established and described in his present article.

HON. WILLIAM C. MAINS was born in New York State in 1871. Graduated from New York University in 1892, and later studied as a graduate student in the same institution and abroad (Halle and Berlin). Has held the chair of History and Economics in the University of Denver, and in Ursinus College, Pennsylvania. In 1897 he abandoned the academic life and entered upon the practice of the law. Has taken an interest in the theory and practice of politics, and, as a Republican, represents the first assembly district of Westchester, in the New York State Legislature.

MR. EDWARD S. MEADE, born in 1874, was graduated from De Pauw University in 1896. Fellow in Political Economy, Universities of Chicago and Pennsylvania, 1896–1900. Ph.D. in economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1899. Was appointed instructor in Commerce and Industry in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania, 1900. Has published various articles in economic journals.

EX-SENATOR W. A. PEFFER, born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1831, attended public school in the winter months, and at fifteen began teaching in winter, working on the farm during the summer. Served three years as private and lieutenant with the 83d Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion. Established two newspapers in Southern Kansas—one in 1870, the other five years later. Served as a member of the Kansas State Senate, 1875–76. Was editor of the "Kansas Farmer" in 1881. Became prominently identified with agricultural interests, and was conspicuous in the farmers' movement in 1889–90. His pamphlet, "The Way Out," appeared in 1890. Was elected to the United States Senate in 1891, and served one full term. Is now engaged in literary work.

MR. ALBERT SCHINZ was born in the French part of Switzerland about thirty years ago. Attended school in Neuchâtel, and later the University of that city, from which he was graduated in 1888. Then went to Berlin and Tübingen, where he devoted his time especially to philosophy and literature. In 1894 received degree of Ph.D. at Tübingen. Afterward studied at Paris. In 1897 came to America, and is now teacher of French literature at Bryn Mawr College. Mr. Schinz has been a frequent contributor to European magazines.

MR. ALDACE F. WALKER, a native of Vermont, was graduated from Middlebury College; served three years in a Vermont regiment; studied law at Columbia College Law School; practised his profession for six years in New York City, and for fifteen years at Rutland, Vermont. Was Interstate Commerce Commissioner for two years, from April, 1887, and chairman of various railway associations in Chicago until 1894. Was appointed a receiver of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad and its allied lines; and since January 1, 1896, has been Chairman of the Board of Directors of the reorganized Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railway Co., in charge of the New York office.

MR. HENRY REMSEN WHITEHOUSE was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1857, and was educated in Germany, Switzerland, and England. Afterward studied at the Paris Beaux-Arts, under Gérôme. Was sent by President Arthur as Consul-General and Secretary of Legation to Guatemala; then by President Cleveland to Mexico, and by President Harrison to Rome, as Secretary of Legation. Also served at Copenhagen and Madrid. Is the author of "Sacrifice of a Throne," and "Collapse of the Kingdom of Naples," and is now engaged upon a third book on Italian history.

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